THE MILITARY ORDERS

Volume 6.1

Culture and Conflict in the Mediterranean World

edited by
Jochen Schenk
and
Mike Carr

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The Military Orders

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Jochen Schenk (PhD Cantab) was Lecturer of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow. His recent publications include *Templar Families. Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c.1120–1312*. He is also the author of a number of articles dealing, mainly, with the Order of the Temple's social structure, the Templars' religious life, and the military orders' contribution to state building in the Latin East. He is currently working on a cultural history of the crusader states.

Mike Carr (PhD London) is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. His first monograph, *Merchant Crusaders in the Aegean, 1291–1352*, was published by Boydell and Brewer in 2015. He has published articles on his main interests, which include relations between Latins, Greeks and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean, the crusades, trade, maritime history and the papacy. He is also the co-editor of the volume *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453*, with Nikolaos Chrissis (Ashgate, 2014).

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Edited by
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Editors' preface

The present volume contains papers from the sixth conference on the military orders, which was held on 5–8 September 2013 at the Museum of the Order of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, under the auspices of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades, the Military Religious Orders and the Latin East. We welcomed scholars from at least twenty-five countries who between them presented over eighty papers. It has been possible to publish only a selection of the papers here; however, we should like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who took part in the conference for helping make the event such a success.

For the first time the proceedings are being published in two volumes. Although each volume stands on its own and can be obtained and consulted independently, the volumes are best appreciated as an ensemble, for they are intended to provide the reader with the broadest overview of the most current research in the field of military order studies relating to their military lives and culture. It should be noted here that the term 'culture' is understood by the conference organisers and the editors as denoting the visible and tangible products of human endeavour as well as the forms and means of ritualistic and symbolic communication and representation which are at the heart of what has been labelled the 'new cultural history'. Whereas each volume focusses on a very broad geographical region (Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean respectively), their internal structure is chronological rather than thematic or geographic. That this should be the most satisfying order presenting itself is, of course, testimony to the vast variety of topics, approaches and geographical regions presented within each volume. This should come as no surprise: the study of the military orders has always been an international and truly interdisciplinary endeavour!

As editors we should like to express our gratitude to the editorial committee, Tony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson for their support and sage advice throughout, as well as to Jonathan Riley-Smith for writing the introductions to these volumes. Thanks are also due to John Smedley and his colleagues at Ashgate Publishing, Michael Bourne at Routledge, and Autumn Spalding at Apex CoVantage for their help and patience. The conference turned out to be an immense success because of the many months of careful planning by its dedicated organizing committee led by Michael Heslop, namely Alan Borg, Christina Grembowicz, Tony Luttrell, Helen J. Nicholson, Jonathan Phillips, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Keith Schnaar and Pamela Willis. It is to them that we extend our gratitude for helping lay the foundation for these two volumes.

Very special words of thanks are due to our sponsors and those who have contributed to the conference: Cardiff Centre for the Study of the Crusades, Cardiff University, the Grand Priory of England, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the St John Historical Society, Royal Holloway, the University of London, Cambridge University Press, Ashgate Publishing, the Institute of Historical Research, Brepols Publishers NV and to the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust for its subvention towards the publication of the proceedings. We are also grateful to three anonymous donors for enabling the conference committee to give seven bursaries to students, and to the Priory of England of the Order of St John and the Museum of the Order of St John for the use of St John's Gate and the Priory Church. Finally, we would like to thank the volunteers and staff at St John's Gate, in particular the members of the St John Historical Society and the St John Fellowship, the Reverend Gay Ellis (Little Maplestead), Paula Dellamura (Temple Cressing) and Stephane Bitty (Rosebery Hall).

Jochen Schenk (Glasgow) & Mike Carr (Edinburgh)

Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*
AHN OO.MM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Ordenes Militares
AIM	Archive of the Roman Inquisition in Malta
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
AOL	*Archives de l'Orient Latin*
AOM	Archive of the Order of Malta
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 316 vols (Turnhout, 1945–)
CH	*Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906)
Cont WT	*La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. M.R. Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 14 (Paris, 1982)
CT	*Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple,* ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913)
Eracles	*L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, in RHC Occ, 1.2 (Paris, 1859)
HC	*A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K.M. Setton, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Madison, 1968–89)
Malta, Cod.	Archives of the Order of St John, National Library of Malta, Valletta
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*
MO 1	*The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994)
MO 2	*The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare,* ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998)
MO 3	*The Military Orders, vol. 3: History and Heritage,* ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008)

MO 4	*The Military Orders, vol. 4: On Land and By Sea,* ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008)
MO 5	*The Military Orders, vol. 5: Politics and Power,* ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012)
MOA	*Militarium Ordinum Analecta*
Montjoie	*Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honor of Hans Eberhard* Mayer, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (London, 1997)
NLM	National Library of Malta, Valletta
P&C	*Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
PUTJ	*Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, ed. R. Hiestand, 2 vols (Gottingen, 1972–84)
QuStDO	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens
RHC	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*
Arm	*Documents arméniens*
Occ	*Historiens occidentaux*
Or	*Historiens orientaux*
RHGF	*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*
RIS	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*
ROL	*Revue de l'Orient Latin*
RRH	*Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum (Ad)*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
RS	Rolls Series
RSJ	*The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493*, ed. E. Gallego Blanco (Leiden, 1971)
RT	*La Règle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886)
SDO	*Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, ed. M. Perlbach (Halle, 1980)
SRP	*Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, ed. T. Hirsch et al. (Leipzig, 1861)
WT	*Guillaume de Tyr, Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

Notes on contributors

Stephen Bennett holds an MA in Crusader Studies from Queen Mary and Royal Holloway, University of London, and is currently researching a PhD on the Third Crusade at Queen Mary. He was made Diplomado de Estado Mayor by the Spanish Command and Staff College in 2004 and in 2005 received a MA in International Liaison and Communication from the University of Westminster for his dissertation on perception management in the works of Sun Tzu and Carl von Clausewitz. His recent publications include 'The report of Friar John of Plano Carpini: Analysis of an intelligence gathering mission conducted on behalf of the Papacy in the mid Thirteenth Century' (*University of Limerick History Society Journal*, vol. 12, 2011, pp. 1–14) and 'The Battle of Evesham: Edward Longshanks first victory on the battlefield' (*Medieval Warfare*, vol. II.5, 2012, pp. 42–46).

Betty Binysh is a PhD candidate working under Professor Helen J. Nicholson at Cardiff University on medieval Christian-Muslim relations in the Latin East. Her research focuses on the extent and nature of peaceful relations under the working title 'Living in Peace in the Holy Land 1095 to 1291 AD'.

Pierre Bonneaud studied medieval history at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He researches the military orders in the Crown of Aragon and the Hospitallers of Rhodes in the late Middle Ages. His publications include *Le prieuré de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la couronne d'Aragon* (2004), *Els Hospitalers catalans a la fi de l'Edat Mitjana. L'Orde de l'Hospital a Catalunya i a la Mediterrània, 1396–1472* (2008) and several articles.

Anne Brogini is Maître de Conférence Habilitée à Diriger des Recherches of the University of Nice. She specialises in Early Modern Mediterranean history, the relationships between Christians and Muslims and the Order of Malta. She has published a number of books, including *Malte, frontière de chrétienté, 1530–1670* (Rome, 2006); *Des marges aux frontières. Les puissances et les îles en Méditerranée occidentale* (Paris, 2010); *1565, Malte dans la tourmente. Le 'Grand Siège' de l'île par les Turcs* (Paris, 2011); *La Méditerranée au prisme des rivages. Menaces, protections, aménagements en Méditerranée occidentale, XVIe–XXIe siècles* (Paris, 2015); *Les Hospitaliers et la mer, XIVe–XVIIIe siècles* (Clermont-Ferrand, 2015).

Emanuel Buttigieg is a Senior Lecturer in early modern history at the University of Malta. His first book was *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c.1580-c.1700* (London and New York, 2011). He has also co-edited, with Simon Phillips, *Islands and Military Orders c.1291-c.1798* (Farnham, 2013).

Nicholas Coureas of the Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, Cyprus works on Lusignan Cyprus. His publications include *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312* (Ashgate, 1997), *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378* (Nicosia, 2010) and *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History* (Ashgate, 2012), co-edited with M.J.K. Walsh and P. W. Edbury.

Gil Fishhof teaches medieval art history at the department of art, Tel Aviv University. He specializes in French Romanesque sculpture and architecture, the architecture of the Order of Cluny, and in Crusader art of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. His publications appeared in *Mediaevistik*, *Viator*, *Arte Medievale* and *Annales de Bourgogne*, among others.

Michael Heslop graduated in Medieval History from Cambridge University. He holds an Honorary Research Associateship in Byzantine Studies at Royal Holloway and serves on the Executive Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. His publications include various articles on Byzantine and Hospitaller defence systems in the Dodecanese. He was also co-editor of *Byzantium and Venice, 1204–1453: Collected Studies* by Julian Chrysostomides.

Kevin James Lewis is a doctoral student in History at the University of Oxford, working on a thesis entitled 'A study of the internal aspects of the county of Tripoli during the twelfth century', supervised by Dr Christopher Tyerman. Previously, he studied at the University of Cardiff under Professors Helen Nicholson, Peter Edbury and Denys Pringle. He is interested in Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle Ages and Geographical History.

Anthony Luttrell studied at the Universities of Oxford and Madrid, the British School at Rome and the Scuola Normale Superiore at Pisa; taught at Swarthmore College and at Edinburgh, Malta and Padua Universities; and served as Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. He has published extensively on medieval Malta and, especially, on the Hospitallers at Rhodes.

Emma Maglio is a graduate of the Faculty of Architecture of Bari, where she received a PhD on the urban history and architecture of the town of Rhodes during the Hospitaller and Ottoman periods. Her post-doctoral studies at Aix-Marseille University and her current Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship at the Foundation for Research and Technologies of Hellas focus on architectural transfers in Venetian and Ottoman Crete.

Victor Mallia-Milanes is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Malta. He has written extensively on Venice, the Order of St John and Malta in early modern times, including *Venice and Hospitaller Malta 1530–1789: Aspects of a Relationship* (1992) and *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1789: Studies on Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (1993).

Gregory O'Malley studied at London and Cambridge, and held a research fellowship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, from 2000–2003. He is the author of *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460–1565* (Oxford, 2005), and has written several articles on the English *langue* of the Order of St John and on English contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

James Petre is Chairman of the Richard III & Yorkist History Trust and a Director of the Society of West Highland & Island Historical Research. His *Crusader Castles of Cyprus* was published by the Cyprus Research Centre in 2012.

Karol Polejowski holds a PhD from the University of Gdansk (Poland) and his thesis concerning the Teutonic Order in the Kingdom of France (XIIIth – first half of the XIVth century) was published in 2003. Currently his research interests are still connected with the history of the military orders and his second field of research is the history and crusading activity of the French families, especially in the XII–XIIIth centuries. He is now a lecturer of the History of the Mediterranean at Ateneum – University in Gdansk (Poland). His monograph entitled *Matrimonium et Crux. The Brienne family and the Crusades (XII-XIII centuries)* was published in 2014.

Sebastián Salvadó is a postdoctoral research fellow in the Department of Historical Studies of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim. He is currently working on a monograph examining the liturgies of sainted kings in the High Middle Ages. His dissertation (Stanford University, 2011) on the Frankish liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is being edited for publication in *Spicilegium Friburgense.*

Vardit Shotten-Hallel is a research student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the European Forum. Her dissertation focuses on medieval building technologies and architecture in churches of the Latin East, under the supervision of Professor Benjamin Z. Kedar. She works at the Israel Antiquities Authority in Acre, studied architecture at the University of Cambridge and archaeology at the University of Haifa.

Thomas W. Smith is Assistant Professor in Medieval History at Trinity College, Dublin. Between 2013 and 2015 he conducted postdoctoral research at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, funded by a Leverhulme Trust Study Abroad Studentship. Previously he was Scouloudi Junior Research Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research between 2012 and 2013. Thomas holds a PhD from Royal Holloway, University of London and a BA and MA from the University of Kent.

Anna Takoumi is a graduate of the Department of History and Archaeology of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, holder of a Master's Degree in Byzantine Archaeology and currently a PhD Candidate in Byzantine Archaeology at the same University. She has taken part in digitalization programs

and in excavations carried out by members of the University of Athens. Her research interests are focused on Byzantine archaeology and art, and the art of the Crusaders.

Theresa Vella, art historian, worked for several years in the heritage sector of Malta as curator and author, as well as visiting lecturer at the International Institute of Baroque Studies, University of Malta. In 2012, she graduated PhD (Bristol) with a thesis on 'The Paintings of the Order of St John in Malta: Hospitaller Art Collections and Patronage'.

William Zammit holds a PhD in Library and Information Studies and Information Studies from the University of Malta, where he is currently a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Library Information and Archive Science. He has published extensively on culture in early modern Malta.

Introduction

Jonathan Riley-Smith

The proceedings of the conferences on the Military Orders at St John's Gate, London, held regularly since 1992, have provided periodical insights into the continuing development of a subject that covers nine centuries and involves many parts of the world. For someone like myself, who began research in 1960, it is astonishing how popular it has become.

It is noticeable, for example, how many young historians have contributed papers to these volumes. The time is past when the history of the Military Orders was seen as a somewhat esoteric, out-of-the-way discipline. I have drawn attention elsewhere to the difficulty we used to have in persuading historians of the Church and the religious orders to take the Military Orders seriously, in spite of their wealth, their political significance and the importance the Church attached to them. There is still some way to go. The author of a recent book on the contribution of Albanians to the sixteenth-century struggles with the Ottomans in the Mediterranean region, who appears to be well read in many fields, still treats the Order of Malta as a purely military organization. Dr Brogini's plenary lecture in this volume demonstrates how wrong he is, while at the same time providing a nuanced picture of the attempts of the Order to accommodate itself to the Catholic reformation and the reactions of its members to this development.

An outstanding feature of recent years has been the flowering of interest in France. After a long interval the subject is being restored in the country which, with Germany, did most to create it as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century. At an early stage of planning the conference committee decided to mark this by inviting three of the most outstanding young French historians to deliver plenary lectures.

This volume, which covers studies of life in, and the activities of, the central convents in Palestine and Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes and Malta, illustrates some of the most striking developments. Papers cover the Rules of the Orders and their foundation charters, their relations with Islam, warfare, statecraft and internal politics, finance, their treatment of slaves, propaganda, spirituality and culture. One should be careful with statistics, because the published papers comprise only a proportion of those delivered at the conference, but it is noticeable that papers on architecture, art and urban planning comprise 28 per cent of the total, and those on the Hospitallers of St John on Malta comprise another 28 per cent. In fact, over half the papers

published in the two volumes relate to periods after 1300. These figures seem to reflect what one hears anecdotally: that interests are moving more and more into the cultural and devotional fields and into the later periods of the Orders' histories. The second of these developments is not new, of course. In the 1950s much interest was being shown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, exemplified by the work of Lionel Butler and Anthony Luttrell, but then, as now, the lack of easily available published texts was holding scholarship back. There is a still a pressing need for all the Hospitaller documents from the Rhodian period to be published, perhaps as an extension of Delaville Le Roulx's *Cartulaire*, which covered only the period to 1310. And thereafter the massive archives on Malta ought to be opened up, although the fact that they have been microfilmed is a major step forward.

1 The Hospital's privilege of 1113

Texts and contexts

Anthony Luttrell

Pope Paschal II's privilege of 1113 marked a fundamental point of progress in the development of the Jerusalem hospice, confirming and maintaining the lasting assistential and hospitaller aspects of its character and culture. Although the bibliography for the proto-history and origins of the Order of Saint John is enormous and frequently unsatisfactory, this chapter offers only the briefest observations and references, even though the extent of the use, and frequently the misuse, of the 1113 document is astonishingly widespread. The major texts, the 1113 original, its confirmation of 1119 which was issued at Saint-Gilles in Languedoc, and another papal confirmation of 1135 issued at Pisa, are definitively edited by Rudolf Hiestand;[1] his article of 1980 remains the standard introduction to the subject.[2] More recent works include those of Jonathan Riley-Smith[3] and others.[4] The original parchment of 1113 is now in Malta. A variant original with differing cardinal witnesses, which survives in a fourteenth-century copy, possibly resulted from a confirmation issued by Pope Calixtus II in January 1123.[5]

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The Hospitaller Order eventually emerged from the initial establishment, apparently made shortly before 1071, of a hospice which was founded in Jerusalem by merchants from Amalfi and was attached to the Benedictine monastery of Sancta Maria Latina; Amalfitan merchants in Egypt seem to have secured the necessary permission from the caliph. The Amalfitans were not commercially active in Jerusalem itself nor did they have a *fondaco* there,[6] but they did support pilgrims at Salerno and in Antioch, and they sent subsidies to the Benedictine hospices in Jerusalem. They may have hoped to profit from the pilgrim traffic.[7] By 1082 at the latest Sancta Maria Latina also had a separate hospice for women.

The male hospice had a 'modest *oratorium*', an interior altar or chapel, dedicated to Saint John the Almoner, a seventh-century Patriarch of Alexandria. Pantaleone, who was the son of Mauro di Pantaleone, the Amalfitan founder of the first Jerusalem hospice, had a Latin translation made of the Greek *vita* of John the Almoner, who clearly made a very suitable patron for the hospice.[8] This *vita*, which also existed in Arabic versions, reported the Almoner's exemplary concern for assistance to the sick, to the poor and to women; for the foundation of

xenodochia; for an emphasis on the carers' humility and humble dress; and for other matters reflected centuries later in the Amalfitan hospices and in subsequent Hospitaller practice. In fact, parts of the Almoner's *vita* were later reflected in the Hospital's written Rule.[9] Very soon after 1099 the hospice's patron was changed to John the Baptist, partly perhaps because the Almoner was scarcely known to Westerners. Later inventions of miracles demonstrating a supposed mythical foundation of the Hospital in biblical times naturally involved the downgrading of the role of Girardus and the Amalfitans. Girardus was the 'founder' who from some unknown point, probably before 1099, governed the hospice; he was possibly, though not certainly, from Southern Italy.[10] Girardus and the other carers presumably followed regulations of some sort though they may not have been written down;[11] such rules may well have been Benedictine in inspiration.

Following the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 the Amalfitan hospice was detached from the Benedictines of Sancta Maria Latina and became part of the Western community established around the church of the Holy Sepulchre where a Latin patriarch and Latin canons secular were installed; presumably therefore the hospice needed a new place of worship so that very soon after 1099 the hospice was making use of the adjacent Byzantine church dedicated to John the Baptist and had changed its patron to that saint. After 1099 the female house ceased to function as a hospice but Girardus and the male organization developed an outstanding role as the Latins' major assistential institution in Jerusalem for both men and women; almost immediately it began to receive important privileges and donations, many of them made jointly to the poor, to the sick and to the Holy Sepulchre.[12] Nonetheless the carers depended on men and money from the West, and at some point between 1100 and 1103 collectors for the Holy Sepulchre and the Jerusalem hospice were jointly active in Southern France and elsewhere, using a curious form of indulgence allegedly issued by the pope, by the patriarch and by the 'founder' Girardus, whom the indulgence described simply as *servus* of the hospice.[13] The hospice was initially anxious to receive cash and to avoid the troubles and expenses involved in the administration of the lands enthusiastically being donated to it, but that became impracticable and remarkably soon permanent houses with resident communities of brethren were being established in the West. The result was a system of commanderies which managed the newly received Western properties, recruited brethren and sent monies to Jerusalem, developments which were essentially novel.[14]

On 15 February 1113 Pope Paschal II, acting at the Council of Benevento in response to a petition from Jerusalem, issued the solemn 'protection' privilege, which technically was not a bull, known as *Pie postulatio voluntatis*. In it the pope addressed Girardus as *venerabilis filius*, venerable son, and as the *institutor* and *prepositus*, founder and ruler, of the Jerusalem *xenodochium* or hospice which the privilege said he had founded – *instituisti*; its brethren were *fratres* and, possibly because they took an oath to serve the poor, they were in some sense *professi*, professed. This privilege was of a common type and it did not create what would, but only considerably later, have been termed a religious order; however it did, formally and in perpetuity, recognize the existing hospice as an institution, without

exempting it from the patriarch's jurisdiction. It gave the hospice a considerable autonomy and papal protection, exemption from payment of ecclesiastical taxes on a tenth of incomes from its lands and from payments to secular authorities and the power to elect its leader from among its own brethren. The hospice's existing and future properties in East and West were confirmed to it.[15] Although the hospice's assistential activities had apparently provoked no conflict with the local Muslims, after 1099 its problem lay with the Holy Sepulchre. The 1113 privilege represented, in practice and probably in intention, an escape from control by the patriarch and canons and also from any pretensions which may have been maintained by Sancta Maria Latina or others. The Patriarch Gibelin had from about 1108 been reorganizing the Jerusalem church, and when he died in 1112 both the next patriarch Arnulf and the Archbishop of Caesaria granted the hospice exemptions from tithes. In 1113 Paschal II may merely have been reacting positively to a petition from the hospice, and he may also have been exerting papal influence by restricting the jurisdictions of the patriarch and of the Holy Sepulchre.[16]

The 1113 privilege explicitly confirmed the Jerusalem community in its possession of seven *xenodochia* or hospices at Saint-Gilles in Languedoc, and at Asti, Pisa, Bari, Otranto, Taranto and Messina 'as they now are' – *sicut hodie sunt*.[17] The existence of these hospices was for long unquestioned and is often still used as a basis for innumerable historical assumptions both general and particular,[18] but all that seems untenable, partly because corroborative evidence is lacking.[19] Though the assumption derives from a forgery, the Hospital could have had a church at Messina by 1101 and it possessed a *domus* and a hospice there before 1135; just possibly there was a hospice at Messina by 1113.[20] An undated act of Ramon Berenguer III, count of Barcelona, which is datable only after February 1112, mentioned a privilege he had granted to the Hospital's hospice for the poor at Saint-Gilles, which did exist by 1121. Conceivably, but improbably, this act was made between Ramon Berenguer's marriage to the countess of Provence in February 1112 and the end of that year, in which case the news could possibly have reached Benevento by 13 February 1113. However, the text which mentioned the donation was quite possibly issued in 1114 because it seems to have been connected to the following document in the cartulary into which it was copied, and that document was dated 1114.[21]

At Asti the written evidence and the recent excavations show that the octagonal church, which was presumably dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, passed to the Hospital in 1169 and that the hospice in the same complex did so only in 1182.[22] At Pisa there was a hospice *quod dicitur Pape Alexandri* in about 1100[23] which was possibly the *xenodochium* mentioned there, but not as a Hospitaller possession, in 1126.[24] In Puglia historians of art and architecture have confused the chronology by suggesting early dates in the first half of the twelfth century for various churches which they derive not from written documents, which often have a precise date, but from stylistic arguments based on debatable assumptions about the supposed early influence in Southern Italy of Eastern 'crusader' developments; they naturally, if incorrectly, invoke the 1113 privilege. The Hospital had very few early possessions in Puglia,[25] and in reality there is no evidence for a Hospitaller hospice in or before 1113 at Bari,[26] or at Otranto[27] or at Taranto.[28]

The 1113 list may have been inspired by a project to establish hospices along the routes to Jerusalem, though why Genoa, Venice, Amalfi or Salerno were not included cannot be known. The 1113 privilege made only vague mention of the various possessions in Europe and Syria, and especially in Southern France, which the Jerusalem hospice did already hold; the 1119 confirmation arbitrarily introduced a few more possessions both in Syria and in France.[29] In a considerable number of cases, at Pisa and Asti for example, the Hospital eventually secured churches which had originally belonged to the Holy Sepulchre or been dedicated to it. The list of hospices of 1113 may have been designed to further such a programme of acquisition, perhaps where local groups held properties which the Hospital might hope to secure.[30] In fact, apparently between 1148 and about 1158, the Master Raymundus de Podio ordered the return of alms and other possessions, including hospices, unjustly taken by the Hospital from the Holy Sepulchre.[31] The privilege of 15 February 1113 was in fact connected to the need for alms. A papal letter of the same day commended the Hospitaller Aicelinus, who seems to have been Girardus' envoy to the pope and to others, in his search of alms.[32] Another letter issued on that day showed Palacius or Pelayo Arulfiz setting out on a similar mission to Spain and Portugal;[33] there he was involved in a series of royal and other grants dating from July 1113 onward.[34]

A development which could have been foreseen in 1113 was the emergence in 1120 of a new type of military-religious institution which included knight-brethren who had a fighting role. There is good, and growing, evidence that those Latin knights who renounced their obedience to the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre and moved to the Temple in order to conduct military activities under their own leader had previously lived for some years close to the Holy Sepulchre within the community of the hospice.[35] Some, but by no means all, of the evidence for that was contained in what is evidently an early account inserted into the thirteenth-century chronicle known as *Ernoul*. Despite the confirmation offered by the quite numerous circumstantial details now available,[36] some historians ignore or play down that evidence on the grounds that the relevant passage in the *Ernoul* text is not contemporary and is therefore unreliable. In reality the origins of the Temple were in the community established around the Holy Sepulchre; its canons, the hospice carers and those knights who were the future Templars formed the spiritual, assistential and military arms of the Jerusalem ecclesiastical establishment.

Girardus died in 1120 and was succeeded, apparently as master but possibly in some interim capacity, by an unidentified Rogerius.[37] By 1124 at latest the master was Raymundus who was at least once called *de Podio* and at least once *Podiensis*; his origins are completely unknown.[38] His lengthy mastership saw three major innovations, the details of whose emergence remain obscure: the creation of a medical hospital in Jerusalem, the beginning of military activity by professed Hospitaller brethren and the elaboration of a formal written rule, developments which ultimately depended on the papal privilege of 1113. Some centuries later, the Hospital's official collections of statutes and other texts, though they might report that Girardus' soul went to Paradise, did not, with one exception at Toulouse,[39] contain or even mention the 1113 privilege; instead they presented the miracles of a mythical biblical foundation.[40]

Notes

1 *PUTJ*, ii, pp. 194–8 (1113), 198–201 (1119), 206–7 (1135); a lost confirmation was dated 8 January 1123.

2 R. Hiestand, 'Die Anfänge der Johanniter', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 50–3.

3 J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant c. 1070–1309* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 21–2.

4 For present purposes, see especially A. Luttrell, 'The Earliest Hospitallers', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honor of Hans Eberhard Meyer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 37–54; A. Luttrell, 'The Amalfitan Hospices in Jerusalem', in *Amalfi and Byzantium*, ed. E. Farrugia (Rome, 2010), pp. 105–22 [in the 2010 article at p. 107 for '1120s' read '1020s'; at p. 114 for '1002/3' read '1102/3', at p. 119 for '1000' read '1100'; at p. 120 n. 82 for '1109' read '1119'; at p. 122 for '1220' read '1120' and for '1180' read '1080']. Other recent works are cited in the following notes.

5 R. Hiestand, 'Feierliche Privilegien mit divergierenden Kardinalslisten?', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 33 (1987), 242–54. M. Camilleri, 'The *Pie Postulatio Voluntatis* Papal bull of 1113: A Diplomatic and Palaeolographical Commentary', in *Melitensium Amor: Festschrift in honour of Dun Ġwann Azzopardi*, ed. T. Cortis, T. Freller and L. Bugeja (Malta, 2002), pp. 17–36, ignores Hiestand's publications. The apparent subscription by a Bishop of Malta in 1113 is discussed in S. Fiorini, *'Tristia ex Melitogaudo' Revisited: Objections, Clarifications, Confirmations* (Malta, 2010), pp. 13–17.

6 A. Luttrell, 'Amalfitan Hospices', in *Amalfi and Byzantium: Acts of the International Symposium on the Eighth Centenary of the Translation of the Relics of St Andrew the Apostle from Constantinople to Amalfi (1208-2008), Rome, 6 May 2008*, ed. E. G. Farrugia (Roma, 2010), pp. 106–12, to be amended, insofar as the major source, William of Tyre (WT, pp. 815–17), stated that the Amalfitans who sought permission from the caliph were trading not in Palestine but in Egypt, although he mentioned neither Amalfitans trading in Jerusalem nor an Amalfitan *fondaco* there, as noted in D. Jacoby, 'Commercio e navigazione degli Amalfitani nel Mediterraneo orientale: sviluppo et declino', in *Interscambi socio-culturali ed economici fra le città marinare d'Italia e l'Occidente dagli Osservatori mediterranei. Atti del Convegno di Studi, 14–16 maggio 2011*, ed. B. Figliuolo and P. F. Simbula (Amalfi, 2014), pp. 89–128.

7 As proposed in Luttrell, 'Amalfitan Hospices', p. 107. There was probably no continuity with Charlemagne's Jerusalem hospice: M. McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land* (Washington, 2011), pp. 81–91.

8 Luttrell, 'Amalfitan Hospices', pp. 113–14. A. Beltjens, *Aux Origines de l'Ordre de Malte* (Brussels, 1995), pp. 75–99; S. Melani, *Ospitalieri, Monaci e Guerrieri: Saggi sui primi secoli di vita dell'Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme* (Turku, 2002), pp. 12–23; and E. d'Angelo, 'La fondazione dell'Ospedale di Gerusalemme e gli orrizonti mediterranei della culture di Amalfi medievale', in *Parva pro magnis munera: Études de littérature tardo-antique et médiévale offertes à François Dolbeau*, ed. M. Goullet (Turnhout, 2009), p. 369, reach similar conclusions. All accounts of the hospice's origins unavoidably follow William of Tyre who had first-hand local knowledge, except that when he writes of an original *oratorium modicum* dedicated to the Almoner (WT, pp. 123, 816) most historians, including Hiestand, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 43–7, and Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 238 n. 11, follow later, less reliable sources which indicated the Baptist.

9 Melani, *Ospitalieri*, pp. 12–14; this theme deserves further exploration. By the tenth century there were at least two versions of the Almoner's *vita* in Arabic: J.-M. Sauget, 'Giovanni l'Elemosiniere', in *Biblioteca Sanctorum,* 6 (Vatican, 1965), coll. 750–1.

10 It may seem unlikely that Girardus was Syrian, but he or some of his associates may well have known Arabic.

11 A papal text of 1172 spoke of *vestigia et statuta bone memorie Giraldi et R. [Rogerii* or *Raymundi?]*: *CH,* no. 434.
12 Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', pp. 39–50.
13 A. Luttrell, 'A Jerusalem Indulgence: 1100/3', in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World,* ed. H. Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), pp. 5–11.
14 A. Luttrell, 'Los origines de la encomienda templaria en el Occidente latino', in *Actes de los jornades internacionals d'estudi sobre els origens i l'expansió de l'Orde del Temple a la Corona d'Aragó: 1120–1200*, ed. J. M. Sans Travé and J. Serrano Daura (Tarragona, 2010), pp. 57–64, summarized and amended in A. Luttrell, 'The Origins of the Templars' Western Economy', in *L'Économie templière en Occident: patrimoines, commerce, finances*, ed. A. Baudin, G. Brunel and N. Dohrmann (Langres, 2013), pp. 57–64.
15 A. Beltjens, 'Les Privilèges concédés au XII siècle par les papes à l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem', *Studi Melitensi*, 12 (2004), 111–49, asserts, but very debatably, that in 1113 the carers had a rule, wore a regular habit and took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and that the 1113 privilege made them, in some sense, an order.
16 Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 21; J. Rowe, 'Paschal II and the Latin Orient', *Speculum*, 33 (1957), 470–501; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 57–62.
17 *PUTJ*, ii, pp. 196, 200, places the phrase '*[hodie sunt, in p]*' in square brackets; the *sicut hodie sunt* appeared as *omnino* in the 1135 confirmation.
18 M. Matzke, 'De Origine Hospitalariorum Hierosolymitanorum – vom klösterliche Pilgerhospital zur internationalen Organisation', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 1–23; idem, *Daibert von Pisa zwischen Pisa, Papst und ersten Kreuzzug* (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 107–27, maintains, with ingenuity and much detail, that before 1099 Pope Urban II and Daibertus of Pisa had already planned these hospices as part of an infrastructure for the coming Jerusalem crusade.
19 As noted in Hiestand, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 52–3, and as argued in Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', pp. 46–7; further evidence is presented later.
20 To Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', pp. 46–7, add K. Toomaspoeg, *Templari e Ospitalieri nella Sicilia medievale* (Taranto, 2003), pp. 49–51, 113–17; F. Tommasi, 'L'ordinamento geografico-amministrativo dell'Ospedale in Italia (secc. XX–XIV)', in *Religiones Militares*, ed. A. Luttrell and F. Tommasi (Città di Castello, 2008), pp. 97–8.
21 P. Amargier, *Cartulaire de Trenquetaille* (Aix-en-Provence, 1972), pp. 275–6; A. Luttrell, 'Gli Ospedalieri nel Mezzogiorno', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le crociate*, ed. G. Musca (Bari, 2002), p. 290 n. 7. Amend Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', p. 50.
22 R. Bordone, A. Crosetto and C. Tosco, ed., *L'Antico San Pietro in Asti: storia, architettura, archeologia* (Turin, 2000); A. Luttrell, review of R. Bordone A. Crosetto, C. Tosco *L'Antico San Pietro in Asti* in *Revue Mabillon*, 75 (2003), 301–2; R. Bordone, 'Attività e presenza territoriale dell'Ordine gerosolimitano in Piemonte', in *Cavalieri di San Giovanni in Liguria e nell'Italia settentrionale: quadri regionali, uomini e documenti*, ed. J. Costa Restagno (Genoa, 2009), pp. 317–24.
23 Luttrell, 'Ospedalieri nel Mezzogiorno', p. 290 n. 9.
24 To Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', p. 51, add M. L. Ceccarelli Lemut and G. Garzella, 'Ordini militari in una città di mare: Ospitalieri e Templari nella Pisa medievale', in *Cavalieri e Città*, ed. F. Cardini, I. Gagliardi and G. Ligato (Volterra, 2009), pp. 56–7. R. Amico, *Il monastero di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano in Pisa: Studio storico introduttivo – inventario dell'archivio e appendice di documenti* (Pisa, 2007), p. 17, assumes without justification that the 1126 hospice was a Hospitaller hospice.
25 J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XII siècle* (Rome, 1993), p. 528; G. Loud, 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), p. 60. Add E. Wiest, 'Die Anfänge der Johanniter im Königreich Sizilien bis 1120',

in *Von Schwaben bis Jerusalem*, ed. S. Lorenz and U. Schmidt (Sigmaringen, 1995), pp. 169–70, 173–5; Luttrell, 'Mezzogiorno', pp. 290–300; A. Luttrell, 'Ospedale e Santo Sepolcro in Puglia dopo il 1099', in *Il Camino di Gerusalemme*, ed. M. S. Calò Mariani (Bari, 2002), pp. 474–84.

26 Luttrell, 'Mezzogiorno', p. 296. Even if the *Barum* (Bari) of 1113 were an error for *Barolum* (Barletta), the earliest date for Barletta is 1157: Luttrell, 'Mezzogiorno', p. 296; Tommasi, 'L'ordinamento', pp. 94–5.

27 Luttrell, 'Ospedale e Santo Sepolcro', p. 480.

28 Ibid., pp. 480, 484 n. 29.

29 Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', pp. 45–6, 53–4.

30 Luttrell, 'Mezzogiorno', pp. 291–4.

31 *CH*, no. 177.

32 *CH*, no. 42; *PUTJ,* i, p. 203; Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', p. 49.

33 *CH*, no. 31; *PUTJ,* i, p. 424.

34 C. de Ayala Martínez, ed., *Libro de Privilegios de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y León (siglos XII–XV)* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 141–4, 146–50, 153–8.

35 To A. Luttrell, 'The Earliest Templars', in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 193–202, add idem, 'Templari e Ospitalieri: alcuni confronti', in *I Templari*, *la guerra e la santità*, ed. S. Cerrini (Rimini, 2000), pp. 143–5, 152; R. Cierbide, ed., *Edició crítica dels manuscrits catalans ínedits de l'orde de Saint Jean de Jerusalem (segles XIV–XV)* (Barcelona, 2002), p. 130; M. R. Bonnet and R. Cierbide, ed., *Estatutos de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén: edición crítica de los manuscritos occitanos (s. XIV)* (Bilbao, 2006), pp. 57–61, 285, 303–4; S. Cerrini, *La revolution des Templiers* (Paris, 2007), pp. 75–82, 257; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 24, 240; idem, 'Aspects of Hospitaller and Templar Memory', in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. N. Paul and S. Yeager (Baltimore, 2012), pp. 239–42.

36 Details elaborated in Luttrell, 'Earliest Templars', pp. 195–9.

37 Beltjens, *Origines*, pp. 241–78; A. Luttrell and F. Tommasi, 'Una falsa donazione per l'Ordine dell'Ospedale (1120)', in *Religiones Militares*, pp. 265–77.

38 Luttrell, 'Amalfitan Hospices', p. 121; there is no known justification for implying that Raymundus was French by calling him 'of Puy', 'de Puy', 'du Puy', or 'de le Puy'.

39 *PUTJ*, ii. p. 194.

40 E.g. *Estatutos*, p. 91. The presence of Girardus' body at Manosque in and after 1283 is now in doubt: F. Reynaud, *La commanderie de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem de Rhodes et de Malte à Manosque (XIIe siècle – 1789)* (Gap, 1981), pp. 195–9; A. Beltjens, 'Trois questions à propos de l'Hospitalier Gérard', *Bulletin: Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte*, 19 (2007), 5–59; 20 (2008), 4–52; D. Carraz, 'Aux origines de la commanderie de Manosque: le dossier des comtes de Forcalquier dans les archives de l'Hôpital (début XIIe – milieu XIIIe siècle)', in *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au moyen âge*, ed. P. Josserand and M. Olivier (Münster, 2012), pp. 153–5.

2 Reflections of conflict in two fragments of the liturgical observances from the primitive rule of the Knights Templar

Sebastián Salvadó

The redaction of the primitive Templar Rule was an endeavour carried out not without a small degree of tension. The creation of the military orders, or the formalization and normalization of a nascent cultural practice among Frankish nobles in the Latin East, involved many invested parties engaged in mediating a perceived conflict; one which was of a devotional, ecclesiastical, institutional, and social kind.[1] Its deliberation at the Council of Troyes in 1129 testifies of the significance accorded to the pressing issues perceived in the knights' practices.[2] The Templar brethren's relationship to the performance of liturgy is one such point of contention not entirely settled at that time. Their particular religious observances were most probably fully formulated in the years after Innocent II's 1139 bull *Omne datum optimum* which, among other things, allowed the Templars to have their own priests.[3] Chapters 74 to 76 of the Primitive Rule stipulate the religious feasts that Templar knights were to observe.[4] These chapters represent the results of settling secular and ecclesiastical diverging interests through mediation. They function to distinguish the new brethren's religious *opus* in relation to the standard liturgical year as observed by canons and monks. Chapter 74 commences with the title, 'These are the feast days and fasts that all the brothers should celebrate and observe', and resumes in the following tone, 'Let it be known to all present and future brothers of the Temple that they should fast at the vigils of the twelve apostles.'[5] The following chapter, 75, is titled, 'These are the feast days which should be observed in the house of the Temple', while chapter 76 continues to delineate what brethren are to do in relation to the normal liturgical calendar, 'None of the lesser feasts should be kept by the house of the Temple.'[6]

The creation of this list entailed resolving additional conflicting issues, both in how a knight was to practice these observances in relation to the way literate monks or clergy did and in resolving diverging views as to the contents of the list itself (i.e., what actual feasts to include and exclude). Regarding the first issue, we know that its resolution was achieved by requiring Templar knights be present in the chapel during these feasts, as evidenced from chapter 359.[7] The brethren's comportment while the Templar priest sung the Divine Office (consisting of eight liturgical celebrations throughout the day) and the two daily Masses was to listen attentively.[8] This was a solution borrowed from the practice of *conversi*, or those lay brothers attached to monastic institutions, a practice flowering in the twelfth

century.[9] As for the second aspect, the selection of feasts is generally characterized as emphasizing those of the *temporale* (Christ) over those of the *temporale* (saints); the celebration of the apostles can be interpreted as an extension of this Christ-centric devotion. Notwithstanding and central to the present discussion, the number of feasts observed was subject to change and emendation. This stemmed not just from clerical discussions attempting to establish the military order's core devotional profile. Changes to the Rule surged also from situations of conflict between institutions and struggles of a more brutal nature, such as those associated with the events of 1187.[10] In the following study I concentrate on discussing two different iterations of chapters 74 to 76 found in liturgical manuscripts belonging to the central commandery of the Knights Templar originating from before and after the 1187 loss of Jerusalem.[11] My analysis suggests these sources reflect an instance of the Knights Templar negotiating their spiritual and institutional relationship with the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and, possibly, are reflective of how the loss of Jerusalem impacted the Order's devotional identity.

The first manuscript containing these passages is the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre (Vatican, Bib. Apost., Barberini Latin Ms. 659).[12] It is an invaluable document containing the complete liturgy of the rite celebrated by the Frankish canons of the Holy Sepulchre. This source provides copious rubrics describing details ranging from how processions were to be performed to the meaning of liturgical seasons. Additionally, the ordinal contains documents relating to the ecclesiastical relationships between dependent churches, such as that of the central commandery chapel of the Knights Templar.[13] Because the Templar's church was in the patriarchate of the Holy Sepulchre, like common custom in the Continent, they were expected to celebrate the liturgy of the diocese (or as in *Outremer*, that of the Latin Patriarch).[14] Thus, dependent churches celebrated the same liturgy (excepting the date of the dedication of the church) as the cathedral, here the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This translates to the simultaneous daily celebration of identical liturgies among the dependent parish churches and cathedral. This is an important aspect to be kept in mind. The liturgy of MS 659 was originally written to coincide with the 1149 rededication of the Holy Sepulchre, yet the copy we have was made in Jerusalem for the Templars around 1175.[15] In the opening folios, after the calendar and other tabulations, are inserted the three chapters from the Templar Rule.[16] Because of the presence in the calendar of *obiit*'s for Templar Grand Masters, Marie Louise Bulst-Thiele discussed this manuscript and the portion of the rule very briefly.[17] Simonetta Cerrini also has taken notice of the Rule fragment.[18]

The second manuscript containing the Rule fragment is also a significant source for the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, principally because the ordinal contains only the incipit of the liturgical items. Thus, liturgical texts are not provided in their entirety (e.g. a problem for knowing the lessons of Matins, *inter alia*), and the ordinal has no musical notation. This latter aspect poses difficulties when seeking to ascertain the geographic origins of the sources for the Holy Sepulchre liturgy, especially because a same text was sung to different melodies in different parts of the Continent. The second manuscript remedies this situation by being a fully noted and 'unabridged' breviary (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. Lat. 10478).[19] The entire liturgy is written out in full

and all musical chants are provided, making the manuscript run over 440 folios long. From the contents of its liturgy this source presents the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, can be dated to the years between 1232–1240, and was produced in Acre.[20]

With these two points of reference a discussion of the fragments is now possible. Table 2.1 provides a transcription of chapter 74 from MS 659, accompanied by editorial marks to facilitate distinguishing its particularities. This portion of the MS 659 passage represents a near *verbatim* instance of the Primitive Rule. However, it displays some idiosyncrasies: at the opening it mixes up James the Less with James the Great (or Santiago de Compostela, celebrated on July 25). The fragment notes 'Iacobi qui frater Domini dicuntur'. This confusion is discerned because James the Less, known as the brother of the Lord, is always celebrated with Phillip on May 1. From the order of the apostles given in the list, which follows their chronological succession in the liturgical calendar, his distinguishing attribution of 'frater Domini' should have been written alongside the first instance of the name of James. An indication this is a scribal mistake is evidenced in the manuscript by the appearance of a blank space next to the first instance of 'Iacobi'. The second difference, signalled by brackets enclosing an asterisk, point to an entire passage is missing from the fragment (provided in English on the left hand column).[21] This does not imply that these feasts were not celebrated; rather the scribe appears to be omitting this material for the sake of efficiency, because the feasts are repeated in the following chapter. The portion of text regarding the vigil of Epiphany is shifted in the text (here distinguished by being italicized). The concluding remark concerning fasting during the octave of Easter is also excluded. The rationale behind this decision could be that to anybody familiar

Table 2.1 Chapter 74, comparison between the Primitive Templar Rule and ordinal fragment

Primitive Templar Rule	*Jerusalem Ordinal, MS 659, fol. 7v*
[*] vigil of St John Baptist; vigil of Ascension, and two days before; rogation days; vigil of Pentecost; ember days; vigil St Laurence; vigil of Virgin in mid-August; vigil of all saints; *vigil of Epiphany*. [*] However, if it falls during the octave of Easter, they should not fast.	Notum sit omnibus fratribus templi, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ieiunare debent per omnes vigilias XII apostolorum, scilicet Petri et Pauli, et Andree, Iacobi [blank space] Philippi, Thome, Bartholomei, et Mathei, Symonis, et Iude, Iacobi qui frater Domini dicuntur et Mathie. [*] Hec autem fiant secundum precepta Innocentii pape edita in concilio qui fuit in civitate Pisana. Si autem prefata festa in die lune evenerint, in die precedentis sabbati ieiunia fiant. Si dies Nativitatis Domini evenerit in VI feria: Fratres comedant carnes propter venerationem sollempnitatis. Si *vigilia Epiphanie* ubique ieiunetur. Letania Maior. In festo sancti Marci evangeliste ieuinetur, quod statutum sunt Rome pro hominum mortalitate. [*]

with Easter celebrations, there is no fasting during Easter Week. So it is an omission of the obvious, again maybe for the sake of economy of space.

The iteration of chapter 75, which follows directly from the previous text in MS 659, presents some more small, but significant, differences (cf. Table 2.2). First is the original omission of the feast of St George (April 23). This feast was added to the manuscript by a later hand and falls in line with the Primitive Rule. This could be either a scribal error or a reflection of an earlier form of the feasts celebrated by the Templars. The next difference to the Rule is found with the addition of the June 11 feast of Barnabas of Cyprus. In the Acts of the Apostles (14:14) he is named an apostle working alongside Paul in converting Gentiles. This is a feast that does not survive in the Templar Rule, and yet it was celebrated in the rite of the Holy Sepulchre with nine lessons (i.e., a major feast, comparable with the other apostles).[22] I will return to this office shortly. The next difference to the rule is the insertion of Bartholomew in the list of feasts. This is not present in the Primitive Rule in this chapter, but rather in the previous; it is a difference of no apparent consequence. So are the rubrics of when workers are to continue their duties, such as those for the feasts of Saints Martin and Nicholas. The last difference with the rule is the omission of the feast of St Katherine of Alexandria (Nov. 25). A later

Table 2.2 Chapter 75, comparison between the Primitive Templar Rule and ordinal fragment

Primitive Templar Rule	*Jerusalem Ordinal, MS 659, fol. 7v*
*St George (April 23) *Not in Rule (June 11) *Not in Rule (Aug. 24), but present in chapter 74	Hec sunt festa que coli iubentur in domo Templi. Nativitas Domini et festum sancti Stephani prothomartiris. Iohannis evangeliste, et Innocentium et octave Natalie
*Not in Rule *In Rule (Nov. 25), not in MS 659	Domini et Epiphania et purificatio Sancte Marie, et Sancti Mathie apostoli, Annuntiatio Dominica, Pascha cum tribus diebus, sequentibus. [*on left margin of page, different hand: et festum Sanctis Georgii martyr] et sanctorum Philippi et Iacobi. Inventio Sancte Crucis et Ascensio Domini, et Pentecosten, cum duobus diebus et Sancti Iohannis Baptiste [above script, illegible . . .] [*on right margin: Barnabe ap] Petri et Pauli, et Sancte Marie Magdalene [symbol of cross, upperscript] Iacobi apostoli et Sancti Laurentii, Assumptio Sancte Marie, [*] Bartholomei ap, et Nativitas
	Sancte Marie. Exaltatio Sancte Crucis, Sancti Mathei apostoli, Sancti Michaelis, Symonis et Iude, Festum omnium sanctorum, et sancti Martini, [*] nisi de carrucis. Sancti Andree Apostoli et Sancti Nicholai: [*] nisi de carrucis. [*On left margin: Sci Katherine, nisi de carrucis.] et Sancti Thome apostoli.

hand has added the feast to the list of celebrations observed by the Templars. This is in accordance to the practice adopted in the Rule. Yet is a practice that was not followed in the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, for on November 25 the Latin Patriarchate, at least in the mid-twelfth century, celebrated the feast of the fourth century Bishop and Martyr Peter of Alexandria (300–311).[23]

Chapter 76 has another difference to the Rule that clarifies what is taking place in this portion of the ordinal for use in the Templar's central Jerusalem commandery (cf. Table 2.3). The same hand that had introduced the feast of Barnabas in the Rule, has now introduced that of the Patriarchs (Abrahe, Ysaae, et Iacob). This feast is proper to Jerusalem (i.e., it is not observed on the Continent) and was celebrated on October 6 with a full nine-lesson office.[24] The next difference is again an omission of a liturgical stipulation that forms part of normal practice and does not necessarily introduce any aspect relevant for the present discussion.

Taken together, the introduction in chapters 75 and 76 of the feast of Barnabas and the Patriarchs reveal the Templar brethren able of drawing their liturgical customs closer to that of the Holy Sepulchre. This is closer than originally set out in the 1135 Council of Pisa where these sections of the Rule were first decided.[25] These entries might also be reflective of the liturgical innovations taking place in the rite of the Holy Sepulchre as coalesced in the 1149 ordinal. Suggestive of this latter facet is that in the extant sacramentaries of the 1130s (Angelica 477-McClean 49; Paris 12056), the feast of the Patriarchs is included in the calendar but is not provided with a proper liturgy.[26] It is only in the 1149 ordinal that the proper feast appears, thus reflecting the new status this celebration took at this time.[27] In regards to Barnabas, this observance was present in the 1130s sacramentaries with its proper office, which is also seen in the ordinal. Combined, these two aspects emphasize the strong devotional, ecclesiastical, and liturgical bonds between the Templar priests and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Concerning the feast of St Katherine, this is a celebration that is adopted in the Holy Sepulchre rite only in the latter part of the thirteenth century, as it is not present in the so-called 'Barletta ordinal' of the early thirteenth century.[28] The celebration of this feast in the Templar liturgy foreshadows what happens after the loss of Jerusalem.

Some poignant differences with the ordinal entry become apparent when examining the portion of the primitive Rule found in the *c*.1232–1240 Acre breviary MS 10478 (cf. Table 2.4). This portion of the rule was transcribed and briefly

Table 2.3 Chapter 76, comparison between the Primitive Templar Rule and ordinal fragment

Primitive Templar Rule	*Jerusalem Ordinal, MS 659, fol. 7v*
*Not in Rule (Oct. 6) [*] And if it happens that the feast of St Martin falls on a Sunday, the brothers should go without meat on the preceding Sunday.	Cetera vero festa in domo templi minime colantur. [*different hand: Tamen festa sanctorum Patriarcharum ecclesiarum templi coluntur. De ieiunua a dominica proxima ante festum Sancti Martini] usque ad natalie Domini. nisi infirmitas urgeat: a cunctis fratribus ieiuntur. [*]

Table 2.4 Portion of the Primitive Templar Rule in the breviary of Acre

Acre breviary MS 10478, p. 15
Hec sunt festa que cum ieiunis et sine ieiunio in domo Templi servantur.
Pascha servatur cum duobus sequentibus diebus.
Festum sancti Georgii servant sine ieiunio. [April 23]
In die sancti Marci ieiunant, sed laborant. [April 25]
Si festum sancti i [*sic*] Marci infra octabas Pasche evenerit vel in aliqua sequenti Dominica non ieiunatur, nec ante nec post.
Festum Philippi et Iacobi, servant cum ieiunio. [May 1]
Si vigilia Philippi et Iacobi infra octabas Pasche evenerit non ieiunant.
Inventionem Sancte Crucis servant sine ieiunio. [May 3]
In rogationibus ieiunant tres dies. [Mon.-Tues.-Wed. before Ascension Thursday]
Diem Ascentionis servantur. [Ascension Thursday, 40 days after Easter]
Pentecostes servant cum duobus sequentibus diebus. [50 days after Easter]
Nativitatem Sancti Iohannis Baptiste servant cum ieiunio et cum octabis. [June 24]
Festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli servant cum ieiunio et cum octabas. [June 29]
Festum Marie Magdalene servant sine ieiunio. [July 22]
Festum sancti Iacobi servant cum ieiunio. [July 25]
Festum Sancti Laurentii servant cum ieiunio et cum octaba. [Aug. 10]
Assumptionem Beate Marie servant cum ieiunio [et] cum octabis. [Aug. 15]
Festum santi Bartholomei servant cum ieiunio. [Aug. 24]
Nativitatem Beate Marie servant sine ieiunio cum octabis. [Sept. 8]
Exaltationem Sancte Crucis servant sine ieiunio. [Sept. 14]
Festum sancti Michaelis servant sine ieiunio. [Sept. 29]
Festum sancti Mathei servant cum ieiunio. [Sept. 21]
Festum apostolorum Symonis et Iude servant cum ieiunio. [Oct. 28]
Festum Omnium Sanctorum servant cum ieiunio. [Nov. 1]
Festum sancti Martini servant aratris laborantibus *Festum* [*sic*] cum octabis. [Nov. 11]
Festum sancte Katherine servant aratris laborantibus. [Nov. 25]
Festum sancti Thome apostolic servant cum ieiunio. [Dec. 21]
Nativitatem Domini servant cum tribus diebus sequentibus cum octaba. [Dec. 25]
Diem circumcisionis Domini servant sine ieiunio. [Jan. 1]
Epiphaniam Domni servant cum ieiunio. [Jan 6]
Purificationem Beate Marie servant sine ieiunio et cum octabas si fuerit ante Septuagesimam, si post non fiunt octabe. [Feb. 2]
Festum sancti Mathie servant cum ieiunio. [Feb. 24)
Si Festum circumcisionis Domini vel Epyphanie vel *circumcisionis [sic]* purificationis Beate Marie vel festum sancti Mathie apostoli die veneris evenerit non ieiunantur.
Adnunciationem Dominicam servant. [March 25]
Post festum Omnium Santorum usque ad Pascha omni die veneris debemus ieiunare exceptis predictis et excepto illo qui evenerit infra octabas Natitivatis.
Si Nativitate Domini die veneris evenerit debemus carnes manducare.

discussed by Trudon des Ormes in 1895, and most recently Simonetta Cerrini, who translated it to Italian but without providing the Latin.[29] Trudon des Ormes transcribed the passage alongside the corresponding chapters of the Rule and concluded that it was simply a summary of the sections in a different order. His very brief analysis does not go beyond that assertion. Indeed, when examining the passage it is notable that it is written in quite a different manner: this difference lies in the compression of the three chapters into one, thus omitting redundancy, and secondly it is organized according to the liturgical calendar. The first difference with the Primitive Rule is that this portion is organized according to the liturgical calendar. However, instead of starting with Advent, which is how the liturgical year commences, the MS 10478 fragment begins with Easter. Without presently going into details of why, I suggest that this is related to the Templars' celebration of the Holy Sepulchre rite, which places a distinct emphasis on Easter celebrations. The Acre fragment introduces octave celebrations for eight feasts. These are divided between those feasts of Christ, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, the apostles Peter and Paul, and interestingly, the saints Lawrence and Martin (the latter being the only 'military' saint). This addition of octave celebrations is not reflected in the French or Latin Rules, and represents a particular devotional emphasis placed on these feasts by the Templars in Acre (cf. Table 2.5). Correlating to this growth in devotional observance of the liturgy, the Acre fragment includes (noted towards the very end of the passage) that the Templars are to fast from November 1 until Easter. This is almost half of the year. In comparison, the Rule at chapter 351 stipulates that brethren are to fast during the more traditional periods of Advent and Lent.

Although the addition of the octave observances and the lengthening of the fasting period points towards the devotional intensification of the Templar's engagement with the liturgy, the Acre fragment also shows some conflicting facets. One

Table 2.5 Feasts receiving octaves in fragment of Primitive Rule of MS 10478

Acre breviary MS 10478, p. 15
Christ
Nativitatem Domini servant cum tribus diebus sequentibus cum octaba. [Dec. 25]
Virgin Mary
Purificationem Beate Marie servant sine ieiunio et cum octabas si fuerit ante Septuagesimam, si post non fiunt octabe. [Feb. 2]
Assumptionem Beate Marie servant cum ieiunio [et] cum octabis. [Aug. 15]
Nativitatem Beate Marie servant sine ieiunio cum octabis. [Sept. 8]
John Baptist
Nativitatem Sancti Iohannis Baptiste servant cum ieiunio et cum octabis. [June 24]
Apostles
Festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli servant cum ieiunio et cum octabas. [June 29]
Saints
Festum Sancti Laurentii servant cum ieiunio et cum octaba. [Aug. 10]
Festum sancti Martini servant aratris laborantibus *Festum* [*sic*] cum octabis. [Nov. 11]

anomaly is that in the Primitive Rule, Easter is to be observed with three days of feasting, whereas in the Acre fragment it is served with only two (this rubric is written in the second line of text of Table 2.4). This could be a scribal lapse, or an adherence towards a more solemn, and ascetic, celebration of Easter. This latter interpretation is implied by the observances of the octaves, which entails the complete liturgy of the original feast day being celebrated again in its entirety a week later. This represents an intensification of the contemplation of the feast. Additional anomalies, which cannot be presently addressed, are the disappearance of the observance of the feasts of Saints Andrew (Nov. 29) and Nicholas (Dec. 6). This omission might be a scribal error arising from the particular organization of the feasts, which starts with Easter instead of Advent. Additionally, the feast of St Matthew (Sept. 21) is included in the list, but out of calendar order.

In spite of the spiritual legacy to the Latin Patriarchate, inherent through the Holy Sepulchre's liturgy being performed by the Knights Templar in Acre, a search for the June 11 Barnabas feast, and for the October 6 Patriarch's feast, is revealing. These two celebrations, clearly linked to the Holy Sepulchre rite, have been omitted from those select feasts for which it was mandatory that Templars observe. The feasts of Andrew and Nicholas do appear as full offices in the corpus of the Acre breviary; meaning that they were celebrated by the priest, and their omission from the list being apparently due to an oversight. On the contrary, the deletion of Barnabas and the Patriarchs appears to be a deliberate action on the part of the Templar brethren. It is at this juncture that I would like to reintroduce the idea of conflict into this discussion. Examining the contents of MS 10478, the feast of Barnabas is demoted from the MS 659's original nine-lessons category, to that of only six lessons.[30] The feast of the Patriarchs is erased in its entirety and reduced to a mere commemoration by means of a prayer.[31]

To very briefly conclude: the loss of Jerusalem marked a loss of the Holy Sepulchre's hold over its dependent churches, and importantly over the Templars themselves. Through the examination of how the Liberation of Jerusalem ceremonies are treated in the MS 659 ordinal and in the Acre MS 10478 breviary, it is clear that after the loss of Jerusalem, the Templars tried very hard to distance themselves liturgically from the commemoration of the liberation of Jerusalem, and through that, to their previous ecclesiastical relationship to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.[32] In the Acre breviary there is a consistent erasure of the commemoration of the Resurrection, which is iconic and characteristic of the Holy Sepulchre liturgy. As the examples discussed presently show, there is a simultaneous distancing from the few other remaining vestiges of the Holy Sepulchre liturgy that were present in the Templar order's constitutional corpus of feasts as stipulated in chapters 74 to 76 of the Primitive Rule.

Notes

1 cf. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994); H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Sutton, 2001).

2 Nicholson, *Knights Templar*, pp. 23–46.

3 J. Upton-Ward, trans., *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Temple* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 12; cf. M. Barber and A. K. Bate, ed., *The Templars: Selected Sources* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 59–63.
4 Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Templars;* S. Cerrini, 'Une expérience neuve au sein de la spiritualité médiévale: l'Ordre du Temple (1120–1314). Étude et édition des règles latine et française', PhD dissertation, 2 vols (Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1998).
5 Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Templars*, p. 37.
6 Ibid., p. 38.
7 Ibid., pp. 99–100.
8 cf. S. Salvadó, 'Templar Liturgy and Devotion in the Crown of Aragon', in *On the Margins of Crusading – The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. H. Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), pp. 31–43.
9 cf. J. France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers, 1120–1350* (Trappist, 2012); C. Waddell, ed., *Cistercian Lay Brothers: Twelfth-Century Usages with Related Texts: Latin Text with Concordance of Latin Terms, English Translations and Notes* (Citeaux, 2000).
10 B. Z. Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin Revisited', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (London, 1992), pp. 190–207.
11 S. Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and the Templar Rite: Edition and Analysis of the Jerusalem Ordinal (Rome, Bib. Vat., Barb. Lat. 659) with a Comparative Analysis of the Acre Breviary (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. Latin 10478)', PhD dissertation (Stanford University, 2011). A critical edition of the ordinal is currently being edited for publication with *Spicilegium Friburgense,* while the discussion of the liturgy in its socio-cultural context is currently in preparation as a separate monograph.
12 Hereafter referred to as MS 659; cf. Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', pp. 46–50; C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 64–6, 166–75.
13 cf. J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991).
14 B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 52–85.
15 Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', pp. 46–50.
16 MS 659, fol. 7v; Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', p. 478.
17 M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens, 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974).
18 S. Cerrini, 'Festività Templari', in *Templari a Piacenza: Le tracce di un mito. Mostra didattica realizzata nell'ambito delle manifestazioni per il IX Centenario del Concilio di Urbano II a Piacenza*, ed. F. Serena (Piacenza, 1995), pp. 80–3.
19 Hereafter referred to as MS 10478; cf. Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', pp. 58, 260–414; Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 86–8, 224–8.
20 Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', pp. 260–358.
21 All passages in English provided in the following tables are taken from Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Templars*.
22 MS 659, fol. 96v; Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', p. 623.
23 MS 659, fol. 118v; Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', p. 657.
24 MS 659, fol. 135v; Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', p. 689.
25 Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Templars*, pp. 12, 37.
26 cf. Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', pp. 44–5; Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 60–2, 146–54.
27 cf. Gil Fishhof's contribution in the present volume.
28 Barletta, Arch. della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, ms. s.n; cf. Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', pp. 53–4; Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 77–9, 195–201; C. Kohler, 'Un Rituel et un Bréviere du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XIIe–XIIIe

siècle)', in *ROL* VIII (1900–1901), pp. 382–500; G. M. Giovene, ed., *Kalendaria vetera mss. aliaque monumenta ecclesiarum Apuliae et Iapygiae* (Naples, 1848), pp. 1–68.

29 A.L.A. Trudon des Ormes, 'Note sur un fragment de la regle latine du temple', in *Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853–1893)* (Paris, 1895), pp. 355–8; Cerrini, 'Festività Templari'.

30 MS 10478, p. 759; Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', p. 297.

31 MS 10478, p. 876; Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', p. 300.

32 Salvadó, 'Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre', pp. 359–415; Professor Cecilia Gaposchkin is undertaking a new study of the Liberation of Jerusalem liturgy which promises to revise our current understanding.

3 Friend or foe

Islamic views of the military orders in the Latin East as drawn from Arabic sources

Kevin James Lewis

When the concept of a monastic military order first emerged in Western Christendom in the first half of the twelfth century, it proved controversial among Latin Christian authors. The central issue was whether fighting and killing formed an appropriate vocation for Christians, and professed monks at that. This debate is well known to historians, but less well known is the *Islamic* view of the military orders, particularly in relation to their monastic vocation. It will be argued here on the basis of neglected Arabic evidence that Syrian Muslims had a better understanding of the monastic nature of the military orders than hitherto acknowledged. At the same time, Islamic scholars generally took a dim view of Christian monasticism. The awareness of contemporary Muslims that the military orders were monks gave the conflict between them a cultural and ideological flavour. The present chapter goes on to address an apparent paradox, namely why the military orders appear as close friends of Muslims in some contemporary Arabic sources, but the worst of the infidels in others.[1]

It should be said that there already exists a limited body of scholarship on the Syro-Islamic Arabic depiction of the orders. One important if cursory work is R. Stephen Humphreys's 2004 contribution to the second edition of Brill's *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.[2] Humphreys observes that the Arabic terms for both the Hospitallers and the Templars, *isbitāriyya* and *dāwiyya* respectively, first occur in Ibn al-Qalānisī's description of their involvement in a Frankish defeat near Bāniyās in April 1157 (Rabīʿ I AH 552).[3] Humphreys proposes that Ibn al-Qalānisī's failure to elaborate these terms further probably means that they were already in common use among Syrian Muslims, adding that the very use of such terms must mean that Muslims had become aware that these orders were somehow different from other Franks.[4]

Humphreys, together with Hein, rightly notes that the commonly used terms for the Hospitallers, *isbitāriyya* and *isbitār*, 'are simply arabised forms of Latin *hospitalis*' or 'perhaps [. . .] *hospitalarius*'.[5] He proposes that the Hospitallers became semantically distinct from Franks more generally, only after they gained a military role in the 1130s and then expanded their power with such acquisitions as Crac des Chevaliers in the county of Tripoli in the 1140s.[6] As for the common term for Templars, *dāwiyya* or *daywiyya*, the etymology is less clear. Hitti suggested it could be a 'corruption of a Syriac word for poor' (*dōwē*, *dōwyō*), in turn

translated from the Order's original Latin title, *Pauperes Commilitones Christi*, or the Poor Soldiers of Christ.[7] Humphreys feels he 'cannot accept' this and instead suggests that it is an Arabic corruption of Latin *dēvōtus* or Old French *devot*, which he claims 'accurately characterises [the Templars'] status and outlook, and may well have been the way in which they were described to the Muslims by local informants'.[8] Hillenbrand seems to accept Humphreys's romance etymology, rather than Hitti's Syriac etymology.[9] More recently, Weltecke has corroborated Humphreys's hypothesis. She observes that the Syriac Orthodox Christian author Michael the Syrian transliterated the Arabic term *dāwiyya* as *dawyh*, when describing the Templars in his chronicle.[10] Furthermore, Michael explained the term as 'belonging to God', that is to say the same meaning as *devotus*/*devot*.[11] If *dāwiyya* was originally a Syriac word, then Michael would not have merely transliterated *dāwiyya*, but would have either written *dōwē* instead, or used *dōwē* in his explanation of the word's meaning.

Humphreys focuses on the Hospitallers and the Templars, noting that the only other military order to feature in contemporary Syrian Arabic sources was the Teutonic Order (*bayt al-isbitār al-amn* [viz. *almān*] = the House of the Hospital of the Germans), which appeared for the first time in a late treaty, signed between the Mamlūks and the Franks in 1283 (AH 682), less than a decade before the fall of Acre in 1291.[12] In fact, Humphreys neglects the most comprehensive analysis of the Teutonic Order's presence in Arabic sources, that of Horst Hein, who identifies the earliest mention of the Teutonic Knights in a Mamlūk-era source recounting the conquest of the Order's eastern headquarters of Montfort in 1271.[13] Nevertheless, it remains true that Arabic evidence regarding the Hospitallers and the Templars, and thus Islamic attitudes toward them, is much more abundant than the occasional and relatively late mentions of the mere existence of the Teutonics, so the present chapter follows Humphreys in assessing only the earlier two orders.

Humphreys traces the extent and development of the Islamic understanding of the military orders after Muslims first realized that they were a distinct subset of Frank. The orders make only rare appearances in Saljūq- and Zankid-era texts, but references to them become more numerous and more accurate in works produced during and soon after the reign of Saladin.[14] The greater prominence of the orders in the Arabic sources is especially evident in the biography of Saladin produced by the *qāḍī* ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, who demonstrated an unprecedented knowledge of the orders' internal organization and the extent of their property.[15]

The frequency with which the military orders appeared in Arabic sources declined in the Ayyūbid period, but the accuracy of the descriptions improved, such as when Ibn Wāṣil demonstrated a greater awareness of their corporate organization and fraternal nature, and when Ibn al-Athīr displayed a remarkable understanding of their close links with the papacy, knowledge which Humphreys believes was gleaned from 'Christian informants'.[16] The narrative sources of the Mamlūk period add little, but the surviving treaties between Muslims and Franks from this time show an even better understanding of the internal organization and hierarchy of the orders.[17] It should be added that this improved knowledge was

likely the result of direct contact between chancelleries, necessary for joint documents to be drawn up, such as those between the Mamlūks and the Christian rulers of North Syria – including the military order commanders of such fortresses as Crac des Chevaliers – in the late thirteenth century.[18] The fall of Acre, the dissolution of the Templars, and the relocation of the Hospitallers to Rhodes distanced the orders from the lives of Syro-Palestinian Muslims.[19]

Humphreys is primarily interested in what could be called the Arabic *semantic* depiction of the military orders, as opposed to the Islamic *religious* depiction. He identifies the etymologies of Arabic terms and traces their development over time. This is certainly valuable, but Humphreys believes he cannot go further than this, held back by the nature of the surviving Arabic material. He notes that 'it remains curious that the Templars and Hospitallers were perceived early on as a group apart from other Frankish warriors and yet their precise nature was never investigated.'[20] Similarly, Hillenbrand claims that the 'lack of Muslim curiosity about the differences between the Frankish invaders' and the military orders particularly is a 'usual' characteristic of Islamic sources.[21] In fact, this rather pessimistic view is not wholly justified, for the Arabic material upon which Humphreys and Hillenbrand rely does not represent the absolute limits of contemporary Muslim understanding of the orders. Most of the texts used by Humphreys and Hillenbrand fall within the narrow category of history writing, but to locate the richest seam of Islamic knowledge of the military orders as religious and specifically monastic institutions, it is necessary to consult the geographical treatise of Yāqūt al-Rūmī, also known as Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī.

Yāqūt was born in 1179 (AH 574/75) to non-Arab Byzantine parents, but was captured as a child and taken as a slave to Baghdad, where he was bought by a merchant of Ḥama in Syria, who gave him a good Islamic education.[22] He travelled widely in the Islamic East, studied extensively, and worked on his encyclopaedic *muʿjam al-buldān*, the Dictionary of Lands, between 1218/1219 (AH 615) and August 1229 (Ramaḍān AH 626), when he died.[23] Within this work, he listed two fortresses then in the possession of the Templars: Ḥajar Shughlān – identified by Cahen as Çalan (Tchivlân Kale) near İskenderun in modern Turkey, known to the Franks as La Roche de Roissol in the former principality of Antioch – and Ḥiṣn al-Dāwiyya – literally the Fortress of the Templars, located somewhere in 'Syria' (*al-Shām*) but otherwise unidentified.[24] When describing both places, Yāqūt took the opportunity to explain to his readers the curious nature of this subset of Franks. In relation to Ḥajar Shughlān, he wrote the following:

> It belongs to the Templars, a type of the Franks; they are a people who have devoted themselves entirely to killing Muslims and they have deprived themselves of marriage, for they are both monks and knights.
>
> هو للداوية من الفرنج ، وهم قوم حبسوا أنفسهم على قتال المسلمين ومنعوا أنفسهم النكاح ، فهم بين الرهبان والفرسان
>
> *huwa li-dāwiyya min al-firanj, wa-hum qawm ḥabasū anfas-hum ʿalā qitāl al-muslimīn wa-manaʿū anfas-hum al-nikāḥ, fa-hum bayna al-ruhbān wa-al-fursān*.[25]

Yāqūt's description of the Templar vocation parallels that of St Bernard of Clairvaux in his famous treatise, *De laude militiae novae*, who wrote, 'I almost doubt what I should call them, monks or knights.'[26] The terminology used by Yāqūt shows that he perceived the Templars in a fairly straightforward sense, as monks (*ruhbān*) within the traditional eastern conception of monasticism, not as canons or some other category of religious brethren. As Weltecke notes, the distinction between monks and canons that developed in the medieval West remained unknown to eastern Christian authors at this time, so it is not surprising to see a Muslim adopting a similar attitude.[27]

In relation to Ḥiṣn al-Dāwiyya, Yāqūt provided another description of the Templars:

> The Templars, after whom the fortress is named, are a people of the Franks who devote themselves entirely to the holy war (*jihād*) against the Muslims and deprive themselves of marriage and so forth. They have wealth and arms, they assist one another with force and they strive with weapons, and no obedience constrains them to anyone.
>
> الديوية الذين ينسب الحصن إليهم قوم من الأفرنج يحبسون أنفسهم لجهاد المسلمين ويمنعون أنفسهم من النكاح وغيره ، ولهم أموال وسلاح ، ويتعاونون القوة ويعالجون السلاح ، ولا طاعة عليهم لأحد.
>
> *al-daywiyya alladhīna yunsab al-ḥiṣn ilay-him qawm min al-afranj yaḥbisūna anfas-hum li-jihād al-muslimīn wa-yamnaʿūna anfas-hum min al-nikāḥ wa-ghayr-hu, wa-la-hum amwāl wa-silāḥ, wa-yataʿāwanūna al-qiwa wa-yuʿālijūna al-silāḥ, wa-lā ṭāʿa ʿalay-him li-aḥad.*[28]

This passage focuses less on the monastic nature of the Templars, though their celibacy is repeated, and more on their military aspect and their famous wealth. The second passage is no less significant than the first, indicating some awareness of the autonomous power of the Order and its famous exemptions from secular and episcopal jurisdiction.

These two passages first appeared in English in 1890 in Le Strange's anthology of extracts, *Palestine Under the Moslems*, but his translations were faulty.[29] One glaring error is his misreading of *ḥabasū anfas-hum ʿalā qitāl al-muslimīn* in the Ḥajar Shughlān passage as '[they] shut themselves up here, and at times sally forth to slay the Muslims.'[30] Moreover, Le Strange did not analyse their content and these passages have escaped the attention of historians of the military orders. These related passages represent the most accurate and extensive surviving description of the customs and vocation of the Templars in Arabic. Given that Yāqūt wrote mainly in the 1220s, the passages support Humphreys's general observation that Ayyūbid authors demonstrated a greater awareness of the orders than their predecessors did.[31] At the same time, these passages challenge Humphreys's claim that 'we should not expect any full or accurate descriptions' of the military orders from Muslim writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[32] In fact, Yāqūt's descriptions indicate a fairly good and accurate understanding of the orders.

Yāqūt's focus on the celibacy of the Templars and the related observation that they were a type of monk are two crucial points of interest, absent from the

sources used by Humphreys and Hillenbrand. In describing the Templars' distinctly monastic quality, Yāqūt was surely tapping into a seam of Islamic tradition that was strongly sceptical of Christian monasticism, for its extreme asceticism and especially its promotion of celibacy.[33] William Hamblin recently attempted to link the Islamic perception of the military orders to these Islamic views of Christian monasticism more generally, as a 'well-intentioned' but imperfect institution, the product of human innovation (*bidaʿ*), not divine will.[34] He suggests that the military orders' intransigent violence against Muslims, their practice of an alien, Latin form of Christianity, and the Templars' occupation of the sacred Aqṣā mosque in Jerusalem, 'compelled a radical reevaluation of Muslim attitudes towards monasticism'; these new monks were both a military and an 'ideological' threat, being the worst blasphemers against Islam and deserving of nothing but death, as demonstrated in Saladin's infamous execution of Templars and Hospitallers at Ḥaṭṭīn.[35] This incident was in fact the peak of Muslim hostility to the military orders, after which point Muslims saw them as potential allies at best and military rivals like any other Frank – monastic or otherwise – at worst.[36]

Hamblin's argument that medieval Muslims viewed the military orders within the spectrum of Christian monasticism is severely weakened by the fact that he is apparently unaware of any contemporary Arabic source making this explicit. He merely mentions in passing ʿAlī bin Abī Bakr al-Ḥarawī's (*c*.1145–1215) cursory labelling of the Hospitallers and the Templars as 'the monks' (*al-ruhbān*).[37] He certainly seems unfamiliar with the passages in Yāqūt's geography. Lacking hard evidence, Hamblin's discussion of the potential connection between classical Islamic theory regarding monasticism and medieval experiences of the military orders feels somewhat unsubstantiated and unconvincing. Yāqūt's geography is therefore the missing link: the only contemporary Arabic Islamic source to make a meaningful connection between the military orders and traditional Islamic attitudes towards Christian monasticism. Yāqūt would have been aware of the traditional Islamic opposition to monasticism and must have known that to emphasize the monastic lifestyle of the Templars was to emphasize that these Franks were antithetical to Islam in the theoretical religious sense, as well as in the more straightforward military sense. They were not simply knights, sworn enemies of the Muslims in battle, but monks, archetypes of the corrupted Christian.

Generally speaking, Muslim attitudes towards the military orders are perplexing for their evident ambiguity. As is well known, Saladin chose to execute all Templars and Hospitallers who fell captive in the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. ʿImād al-Dīn said the sultan relished the opportunity 'to purify the earth of the two unclean orders', smiling as he watched the deed be done.[38] Humphreys labels ʿImād al-Dīn's description of this execution as 'one of the ugliest passages in Arabic literature, unique in its gloating and brutality'.[39] As is equally well known, the Syrian Muslim Usāma bin Munqidh was allowed to perform Islamic prayer in al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem, then the Templar headquarters, because, in his words, the Templars were his 'friends' (*aṣdiqāʾī*).[40] Cobb dates this event precisely to 1138, when Usāma went to Jerusalem on a 'preliminary' diplomatic mission.[41] Such a stark contrast between Saladin's extreme hostility and Usāma's friendly experiences seems difficult to explain.

Humphreys implies that Saladin had sentenced the brothers to death simply because of their military prowess.[42] This has some merit. Ibn al-Athīr wrote that Saladin 'singled these out for execution because they were the most violent fighters of all the Franks'.[43] Hamblin suggests that the massacre at Ḥaṭṭīn represented the peak of growing Islamic ideological hostility to the military orders, fuelled by their military prowess, their reluctance to make peace, and their 'spiritual pollution' of Jerusalem.[44] Crucially, Hamblin implies that Usāma's friendship with the Templars occurred before this Islamic hostility rose to a crescendo in the 1180s under Saladin.[45]

However, Usāma's account is not the only evidence to suggest that the brothers of the military orders often demonstrated a remarkable tolerance towards Muslims. As Forey has shown, the brothers generally did not seek to convert Muslims, which was sometimes associated with the Templars' 'undue tolerance of Islamic religious practices', feeding into the hostile rumours at the time of the Templar Trial.[46] In 1237, the Hospitallers were criticized by the pope for actively obstructing the conversion of Muslim serfs, lest they be forced to free them.[47] The Hospitallers also granted Muslims (*pagani*), as well as Jews and Christians, access to their Hospital in Jerusalem.[48] The military orders used violence against Muslim armies, a political manifestation of Islam, but acts of brutality committed by the brothers against ordinary Muslim peasants are unknown. In other words, the brothers had little concern for stamping out Islam as a religion *per se*.

As Hamilton and Kedar have shown, the Templars took a leading role in promoting the syncretic Marian cult of Ṣaydnāyā, a Syrian shrine where both Muslims and Christians would pray together; the Templars were accustomed to collect the sacred oil from the miraculous icon here and distribute it in Europe.[49] Kedar thinks it 'conceivable that the Templar espousal of Ṣaydnāyā contributed to sullying the Order's reputation', fuelling suspicions that they were too closely involved with Muslims.[50] By contrast, Saladin opposed the mixing of Christians and Muslims at Ṣaydnāyā. An anonymous thirteenth-century Latin text and a related medieval French poem claim that it had been customary for the sultan of Damascus to give 60 *metretae* of oil to Ṣaydnāyā to light the church, 'up until the time of Nūr al-Dīn' (*ad tempus Noradini*), after which Saladin had terminated this traditional Muslim gift, withdrawing his support from this primarily Christian, syncretic shrine.[51]

Ṣaydnāyā was not the only such Marian shrine to suffer at the hands of Saladin. In July 1188, Saladin attacked the city of Tortosa (Ṭarṭūs) in the north of the county of Tripoli and destroyed the cathedral there, described by his biographer Bahā' al-Dīn bin Shaddād as 'an important one in [Frankish] eyes and the object of pilgrimage from all over their lands'.[52] Bahā' al-Dīn has nothing more to say about this shrine, but it is curious that he should have emphasized its destruction. It is his near-contemporary James of Vitry who tells us that this shrine was visited not only by Christians, but also by Muslims, many of whom led their children to be baptized there, believing this ritual to confer longer lives and cures to illnesses.[53] Most relevantly, the Templars were closely associated with Tortosa as well as Ṣaydnāyā. The Templars owned substantial property and privileges in the diocese of Tortosa and dominated the city itself by the 1150s.[54] It is not known if they

were directly involved with the syncretic cult at the cathedral-shrine of Tortosa. Yet their power in the city was such that their citadel alone was strong enough to resist Saladin's invasion in 1188.

Thus two syncretic Marian shrines linked to the Templars suffered under Saladin: Ṣaydnāyā deprived of valuable oil and Tortosa actively destroyed. As Lyons and Jackson, among others, have demonstrated, Saladin had a very puritanical approach to Islam, outlawing 'the open performance of actions objectionable to Islam' and spending much of his career persecuting perceived heretics, such as the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿite Assassins, alongside external enemies like the Franks.[55] His attempts to bring an end to syncretic cults like Ṣaydnāyā and Tortosa should be seen in this light. It is therefore possible that Saladin was so hostile to the Templars partly because they were associated closely with such shared sites. More generally, the fact that the Templars and the Hospitallers proved themselves remarkably tolerant of popular expressions of Islam may have given Saladin cause for concern. Perhaps the brothers of the military orders were *too* friendly with Muslims and *too* keen to promote undesirable, un-Islamic behaviour among Muslims.

Therefore, could it be that Saladin sought the extermination of the military orders, not only because of their military strength, but because of a more peculiar threat that they posed to Islam, namely to undermine the barriers between it and Christianity, carefully constructed by intellectuals and manipulated by secular rulers? The threat to the intellectuals is important. Ibn Taymiyya would later send one of his followers to destroy the icon at Ṣaydnāyā, disgusted by Muslim devotion to it.[56] More relevantly, ʿImād al-Dīn's account of the execution of the Templars and Hospitallers at Ḥaṭṭīn stresses that it was various representatives of the Islamic religious elite, including intellectuals *(ahl al-ʿilm*) and Ṣūfīs (*ahl al-taṣawwufʿ*), who volunteered for the honour of killing these Franks, even though many of these soft academics and ordinarily peaceful mystics proved embarrassingly unskilled and weak-willed executioners.[57] These intellectuals took up swords to exterminate syncretism and its proponents when their pens had failed to have any effect.

In conclusion, Yāqūt's description of the Templars is invaluable evidence that contemporary Muslims had a deeper understanding of what the military orders were in the specific sense of having a religious vocation than hitherto recognized. It should also be realized that knowledge did not in this case breed tolerance, but rather an ideological conflict underpinned by certain religio-cultural differences. It is likely that the awareness of the specifically monastic quality of the orders would have served only to demonstrate still further to Muslims just how far Christianity and its monks had fallen from Islam and its prophets. This leads us to consider the extent to which Muslim intellectuals perceived the orders as a threat to Islam, not only in the conventional sense of fighting Muslim armies, a manifestation of Islam as a *political* force, but also in their remarkable tolerance towards the practice of Islam as a *religion*. By participating in popular syncretism, by tolerating Islamic prayer, and by ministering to sick Muslims alongside Christians and Jews, the military orders threatened to undermine the divisions between Christianity and Islam which intellectuals spent so much of their life defining, and upon which *mujāhidūn* like Saladin built their political reputations. Against this

heresy of syncretism, Muslim clerics laid down their pens in favour of swords. Meanwhile in Europe, Christians began to question why the Templars seemed so friendly towards Muslims, their supposed sworn enemies. Sensationalist rumours began to circulate that the brothers invoked the name of Allāh and that they worshipped idols of Muḥammad. It was a Muslim sultan who began the persecution of the alleged Templar heresy, but it would be a Christian king who would finish it.

Notes

1 This chapter does not consider Muslim knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the military orders in theatres of medieval Christian-Muslim contact and conflict other than the Levant, most notably Iberia, or in the late medieval and early modern periods. These potentially fruitful topics are best left for future research, in Ottoman Turkish as well as Arabic.
2 R. S. Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya and Isbitāriyya', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, 12 vols + index, ed. C. Bosworth (Leiden, 1960–2009), XII, pp. 204–6; cf. C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 334–6.
3 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 204; Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza Ibn al-Qalānisī, *History of Damascus, 363–555 a. h., by Ibn al-Qalānisī from the Bodleian Ms. Hunt. 125, Being a Continuation of Hilâl al-Sâbi*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leiden, 1908), p. 339.
4 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', pp. 204–5; cf. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 335.
5 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 204; H. Hein, 'Der Deutsche Orden bei den arabischen Historikern der Kreuzzugszeit', *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients*, 76 (1999), 150.
6 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 204.
7 P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present*, 10th edn (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 644 no. 3.
8 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 205.
9 Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 421 no. 20.
10 D. Weltecke, 'Contacts between Syriac Orthodox and Latin Military Orders', in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations. III: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in September 2000*, ed. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule (Leuven, 2003), pp. 62–3.
11 Weltecke, 'Contacts', p. 63.
12 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', pp. 204–5.
13 Hein, 'Der Deutsche Orden', pp. 153–4.
14 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 205.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), *passim*.
19 Ibid., pp. 205–6; W. J. Hamblin, 'Muslim Perspectives on the Military Orders during the Crusades', *BYU Studies*, 40:4 (2001), 113–14.
20 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 205.
21 Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 335.
22 C. Gilliot, 'Yāḳūt al-Rūmī', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, 12 vols + index, ed. C. Bosworth (Leiden, 1960–2009), XI, p. 264.
23 Ibid., pp. 264–5.
24 Shihāb al-Dīn Abī ʿAbd Allāh Yāqūt bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5 vols (Beirut, 1955–1957), II, pp. 224, 264; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940),

pp. 142–4; cf. P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*. Vol. 3: *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche: Étude historique, géographique, toponymique et monumentale. Texte.* (Paris, 1973), pp. 363–5; R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 23 (1987), 99; A. D. Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Hetʿum II (1289–1307)* (Leiden, 2001), p. 121.

25 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, p. 224.

26 '*Ut pene dubitem quid potius censeam appellandos, monachos videlicet an milites*' Bernard of Clairvaux, *Éloge de la nouvelle chevalerie; Vie de Saint Malachie; Épitaphe, hymne, lettres*, ed. P.-Y. Emery (Paris, 1990), p. 72.

27 Weltecke, 'Contacts', p. 63.

28 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, p. 264.

29 G. Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500. Translated from the Works of the Medieval Arab Geographers* (London, 1890), pp. 447, 453.

30 Ibid., p. 447.

31 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 205.

32 Ibid.

33 O. Livne-Kafri, 'Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 20 (1996), 110–11 and *passim*.

34 Hamblin, 'Muslim Perspectives', pp. 97–101.

35 Ibid., pp. 101–8.

36 Ibid., pp. 108–12.

37 Ibid., p. 104; Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Ḥarawī, *Al-tadhkira al-ḥarawiyya fī al-ḥayl al-ḥarbiyya*, ed. Muṭī al-Murābiṭ (Damascus, 1972), p. 104.

38 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-fatḥ al-qussī fī al-fatḥ al-qudsī*, ed. C. de Landberg (Leiden, 1888), pp. 28–9. See also: Bahāʾ al-Dīn bin Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: 'al-sīra al-yūsufiyya'*, ed. J. al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1962), p. 77; H. E. Mayer, ed., *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt* (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 259–60.

39 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 205.

40 Usāma bin Munqidh, *Usāmah's Memoirs entitled Kitāb al-Iʿtibār*, ed. P. K. Hitti (Princeton, NJ, 1930), pp. 134–5.

41 P. M. Cobb, *Usama ibn Munqidh: Warrior-Poet of the Age of Crusades* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 26–7; cf. P. K. Hitti, trans., *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh (Kitāb al-Iʿtibār)* (New York, 1929; repr. 2000), p. 164, no. 5; Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 205.

42 Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya', p. 205.

43 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, rev. edn, 12 vols + index (Beirut, 1965–1967), XI, p. 538.

44 Hamblin, 'Muslim Perspectives', pp. 103–8.

45 Ibid., p. 102.

46 A. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Conversion of Muslims in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 11–12.

47 *CH*, II, no. 2168.

48 B. Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital', in *MO* 2, pp. 6–7, 18.

49 B. Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaiya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: Papers Read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 211; B. Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Ṣaydnāyā and the Knights Templar', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 95–7.

50 Kedar, 'Convergences', p. 97.

51 P. Devos, 'Les premières versions occidentales de la légende de Saïdnaia', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 65 (1947), 256. Gaston Raynaud, ed., 'Le miracle de Sardenai', *Romania*, 11 (1882), 537; Hamilton, 'Our Lady', p. 210.

52 '*hiya bīʿa ʿaẓīma ʿinda-hum maḥjūj ilay-hā min aqṭār bilād-him*'. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, p. 88; Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Ismāʿīl bin Ibrāhīm bin ʿUthmān al-Muqaddasī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-nūriyya wa-al-ṣalāḥiyya*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, 4 vols in 2 (Beirut, 2002), 4(2):10. See also: Grigor IV Tłay, 'Élégie du Patriarche Grégoire Dgh'a, Catholicos d'Arménie, neveu (fils du frère) du seigneur Nersès, notre [précédent] Catholicos, sur la prise de Jérusalem [par Saladin]', *RHC Arm*, 1:302.

53 '*Saracenis* [. . .] *qui filios suos plerumque ad prẹfatum Ecclesiam adducunt baptizandos, vt diutiùs viuant, vel vt corporalem recuperent sanitatem*': James of Vitry, 'Historia Hierosolimitana', in *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, 2 vols (Hanover, 1611; repr. Jerusalem, 1972), I, p. 1072. See also: James of Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170–1240), évêque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), no. 2, p. 94; Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211–1212): A New Edition', in *Crusades*, 11, ed. D. Pringle (2012), 121; Marino Sanudo, 'Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis', in *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, ed. Bongars, II (Hanover, 1611; repr. Jerusalem, 1972), p. 245.

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56 J. W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 211–12.

57 Imād al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-fatḥ*, p. 29.

4 Massacre or mutual benefit

The military orders' relations with their Muslim neighbours in the Latin East (1100–1300)[1]

Betty Binysh

The shock of Saladin's massacre of Templar and Hospitaller prisoners after the battle of Hattin (Ḥiṭṭīn) has deeply coloured historians' views of relations between the Muslims and the military orders. Traditionally crusade historians have regarded Saladin's secretary, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī as typifying Muslim views, combining hatred of 'these two impure races' with a wary respect of an enemy so dangerous that the land must be 'purified' of them.[2] Yet does this exaggerate the impact the military orders had on the Muslims and overlook changes in the discourse over the 200 years of contact in the Levant?

This chapter analyses the changing discourse through various Muslims' views on the military orders. It asks whether the military orders really had such a fearsome reputation for bravery in battle and implacable enmity to Islam. It argues that the military orders were hardly noticed before Saladin, but that his propaganda machine deliberately built up their image to help him unite his former Muslim rivals in a military *jihad*. Later, under the Mamluk sultan Baybars, the military orders were treated like any other Frankish enemy group, for whom massacre was an appropriate punishment when they did not submit and honour their agreements, until eventually they were seen as so weak they were hardly a threat.

Stephen Humphreys characterized ʿImād al-Dīn's eye-witness account of the grizzly beheading of Templar and Hospitaller prisoners as '[o]ne of the ugliest passages in Arabic literature, unique in its gloating and brutality'.[3] ʿImād al-Dīn described Saladin's joyful face as he watched their execution by the religious classes, the scholars and sufis, devout men and ascetics, who had begged for the privilege of killing them.[4] ʿImād al-Dīn conveyed the mood of high religious exultation and described these as praise-worthy acts and pious works meriting eternal reward.[5] Earlier in his account, ʿImād al-Dīn's masterly but dense rhetoric piled up descriptions of the shattered bodies of the defeated that he had seen on the battlefield at Hattin.[6] His repetition of phrases with similar meanings, building to a crescendo, was admired as good style in Arabic literature. Saladin's *kātib* demonstrated his linguistic virtuosity, the *adab* of his profession of highly trained 'secretaries' steeped in Arabic literature and the skills of elegant communication.[7] He displayed his mastery of word-play using morphological parallelism, verbalization and nominalization – 'kings enslaved . . . destroyers destroyed and plunderers plundered'.[8] This word-play used verbal nouns formed from the same three

root letters as the associated verb, for example 'king enslaved' used ***m l*** and ***k*** ملك مملو ك *malik mamlūk*.[9] So a king/ruler or 'owner' (*malik*) was made into property or an owned slave, literally 'made *mamlūk*'. The translator Henri Massé commented on the use of '*phrases rythmées et assonancées*' and "*rhétorique*".[10] The translator Gabrieli complained that 'the concrete details are almost lost in an appalling mass of verbiage', while Massé omitted the last four lines of this recital.[11] The inclusion of a specific jab against the Templars, celebrating 'the faces of the infernal Templars ground in the dust', was another word-play on Templars *dāwiyya* داويّة and داوية 'infernal'.[12] This probably transliterates as *dāwiya* but the Landberg Arabic edition that Gabrieli, Massé and I used causes problems and ambiguous meanings because of the lack of diacritics to indicate vowels.[13] The phrase the 'Grand Master of the Templars was brought in his sins' is another word-play on Templars *dāwiyya* داويّة and *dā'* داء 'disease/illness'.[14] Massé omits this word-play and includes only '*on amena d'abord le grand-maître des Templiers*'.[15] Gabrieli's translation of the rhetorical question 'how many ills did [the executioner] cure by the ills he brought upon a Templar' used *dā'* داء for 'ills' and added another layer by interpreting the letters ***d w*** and ***y*** داوى as the verb meaning 'to cure'.[16] The inclusion of these specific references to the Templars might suggest ʿImād al-Dīn burned with a special hatred for them. However the opportunity for word-play may have encouraged so many references to the Templars whereas the Hospitallers are hardly mentioned. Perhaps *isbitāriyya*, an Arabized transliteration of the sound for 'hospitaller' did not lend itself to such games. There was also word-play in ʿImād al-Dīn's report of Saladin's announcement of his intention to collect and kill the military orders' prisoners: 'I shall purify the land of these two impure races'.[17] The adjective *al-najisayn* النجسين 'the two impure' used the root letters ***n j s***, which drove the morphological transposition to ***j n s*** *al-jinsayn* الجنسين 'the two races'.[18] The adjective *al-najisayn* carries meanings tightly focused on impurity, 'the two unclean/impure/defiled/polluted', and this determined the choice of the more generalized term *al-jinsayn* 'the two kinds/sorts/classes/categories/sexes/genders/races/nations'. This prioritization of rhetoric and literary style over historical precision and the tendency to choose a word that fitted led to exaggeration, inaccuracy and ambiguity. Obviously we must be cautious about taking ʿImād al-Dīn's account too literally. Yet while the stylistics of the piece obscures the meaning for a modern audience, the 'communicative value' still reveals the attitudes and mood, giving abundant evidence of ʿImād al-Dīn's hostility towards the military orders.[19] These phrases reveal an intense animosity that revels in their destruction, and the catchy word-play makes these phrases memorable. We can not be certain whether Saladin crafted his rousing declaration himself or if ʿImād al-Dīn constructed a stirring sound bite for him. Yet we may assume that this long-serving secretary, with almost daily, high-level access to Saladin, reflected his views in the way that a modern speech writer reflects the views of the politician whose words he polishes.

Such rhetoric as this frenzied hyperbole influenced at least one reader from its target audience. Although we do not know that Ibn al-Athīr read ʿImād al-Dīn's *al-Fatḥ,* we do know, from one of the rare occasions when he cited a source, that he incorporated ʿImād al-Dīn's *al-Barq al-shāmī* (Syrian Lightening) into his history

for the events of 1190.[20] Ibn al-Athīr's less hostile account did not try to motivate its readers by mentioning the sins of the Templar master, but rather placed him in context as 'one of the most important Franks'.[21] Yet Ibn al-Athīr's less emotional and more considered assessment of Hattin reached a similar conclusion to ʿImād al-Dīn. Ibn al-Athīr was not at the battle of Hattin in 1187.[22] Instead he joined Saladin as part of the allied 'armies of Mosul and . . . the Jazīra' in May the following year, when Saladin was considering besieging Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Hospitaller Krak des Chevaliers).[23] These were the allies that Saladin needed to convince to join his *jihad*. Ibn al-Athīr thought that Saladin had established a good and continuing practice in 'his custom to kill the Templars and the Hospitallers because of their intense hostility to the Muslims and their bravery'.[24] So Ibn al-Athīr was critical when Saladin's customary mercy and sense of *adab* (traditional Arabic standards of ethical and social good manners) meant that he did not always follow his supposed policy.[25] This was shown when two Hospitaller knights were captured while trying to relieve Kawkab (Hospitaller Belvoir).[26] Indeed Saladin's reputation was such that only sixteen months after their brethren were executed at Hattin, these Hospitallers hoped to save themselves from execution with an ingratiating plea to Saladin. One entreated 'I was not expecting any harm to befall us, once we had seen your blessed person and your handsome face.'[27] This suggests that these Hospitallers saw the animosity and executions at Hattin as unusual, as more like a special event than a continuing policy. Indeed in November 1188 and January 1189, Saladin granted Templar Ṣafad (Saphet) and Hospitaller Kawkab a surrender, which allowed them safe passage to Tyre.[28] This was probably from military pragmatism because the rains were 'falling without a break day and night' and the siege 'became lengthy'.[29] However, Ibn al-Athīr criticized Saladin for allowing the personnel of the military orders to get to safety and call for aid and reinforcements from 'Andalusia, Sicily and other islands of the Mediterranean'.[30] As a result, he claimed, Tyre was fortified with '[e]very valiant, devilish champion of the Franks . . . their zeal burned brightly'.[31] Ibn al-Athīr disparaged Saladin's lack of foresight as 'being remiss in releasing all whom he besieged, so that he ended up biting his thumb in regret and chagrin when that was of no use'.[32] Humphreys neatly summarized Ibn al-Athīr's views that 'the orders' boldness and fanaticism ma[de] them a standing threat to the Muslims, and sound public policy require[d] their extermination.'[33]

Such vehement sentiments, spread widely from his secretary to his soldiers, might suggest that Saladin would adopt a consistent policy of massacring captives from the military orders. Yet as we have seen only a year and a half after Hattin, Saladin was granting safe conducts to these 'impure races'. On other occasions Saladin had ordered the killing of prisoners and massacres. However, I would argue the execution of Templar and Hospitaller prisoners at Hattin was an exceptional event, uniquely orchestrated and staged in part because Saladin needed to retain his allies by convincing them of his *jihad* intentions.

Although Saladin famously singled out Reynald de Châtillon from among the lay noble prisoners and personally struck him during Reynald's execution, I believe this reflects a personal animosity which had both a military and religious

dimension. ʿImād al-Dīn, who served Saladin at that time, reported his master's censure of Reynald. In particular, ʿImād al-Dīn wrote that Saladin reproached Reynald for his 'treachery and . . . wickedness' in breaking his oath and his treaties, and suggested that this was the cause of Saladin's animosity.[34] ʿImād al-Dīn, Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād and Ibn al-Athīr all mention Reynald breaking his oath and treaty in attacking the caravan.[35] However all three also mention a religious dimension. ʿImād al-Dīn inquired into the reasons behind Saladin's vow to kill Reynald and heard, on the authority of the Qāḍī al-Fāḍil via Emir 'Abd al-Azīz, that it was part of a vow of re-dedication to the *jihad* made at the time of Saladin's illness in Ḥarrān.[36] Ibn al-Athīr judged that 'there was no Frank more hostile to the Muslims'.[37] He reported that Saladin twice made an oath to kill Reynald, which highlighted the sultan's religious concern to protect the Muslim holy sites against Reynald's attempt 'to march on Mecca and Medina', as well as his 'treacherous' seizure of the caravan.[38] Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād added that when Saladin heard that Reynald 'treacherously killed' the members of a caravan 'under safe conduct' it was Saladin's 'religion and his zeal' which 'encouraged him to swear that . . . he would kill him [Reynald]'.[39] This does suggest a more religious motive than is traditionally credited to Saladin's reasoning for executing Reynald. However I would argue that the execution of the military orders was different. The more deliberate and premeditated creation of a spectacle, by organizing the assembly of military orders captives two days after the battle, by ransoming each one for fifty dinars in order to kill them and by using religious scholars as executioners, made the massacre of the Templars and Hospitallers an especially charged, religious demonstration.[40]

Saladin's announcement to 'purify the land of these two impure races' used the language of purity and pollution. These concerns echoed Saladin's early administration in Damascus when he was the *shiḥna*, or deputy military governor, of the city.[41] According to a hostile Latin account, Saladin levied a tax on prostitutes which he used to fund lavish plays and win 'the mercenary favour of the common people'.[42] It was the duty of a good sultan to be concerned with purity and pollution and support an upright *muḥtasib* to uphold the religious and moral dimension of *ḥisba*, the 'ordering of good and the forbidding of evil'.[43] Saladin's 1183 decree, appointing the *muḥtasib* of Aleppo, emphasized his commitment to Islamic Law: 'Since we have the obligation to enjoin what is good and prohibit what is evil, to administer without fail the people's affairs in conformity with the dispositions of the Law'.[44] Invoking purity at Hattin foreshadowed the immanent propaganda-spectacles of the cleansing of the recaptured Dome of the Rock with rose water to remove its pollution as the *Templum Domini* church and the re-dedication of the former Templar headquarters as the Aqsa mosque.[45] Saladin's rhetoric of purifying the land of impure races emphasized the religious dimension. This suggests that religious and *jihad* considerations were a more important motivation for the massacre than the actual military prowess of the military orders or their enmity to Islam. Yet deliberately building up their reputation helped turn them into the perfect enemy, against whom a military *jihad* should undoubtedly be fought.

Furthermore, although ʿImād al-Dīn presented this as Saladin's initiative, he added 'a whole band of scholars and sufis . . . devout men and ascetics each begged to be allowed to kill one'.[46] Four years before Hattin, the learned men and jurisprudents of Damascus had impressed Ibn Jubayr, a politically neutral traveller, with tales of Saladin's 'righteousness' and respect for the Islamic Law 'we must all alike obey'.[47] It is significant that religious scholars rather than Saladin's mamluks executed the prisoners. I would suggest that the religious scholars were leading as well as following Saladin and that this massacre was driven by religious as well as military needs. What were the religious scholars doing on the battlefield, rather than being ensconced in the libraries and teaching colleges? These scholars were adapting the tradition of the seventh to tenth century Islamic-Byzantine frontier (*al-thughūr*).[48] Then Muslim scholars had gathered in the chain of border-fortresses to perform their *jihad* duty by preaching and motivating the fighters. I would argue that Saladin was bowing to pressure from the religious scholars and the expectations of his allies, in conducting this massacre. I am not saying the military orders were not bold and dedicated warriors, ready to fight Muslims. Rather I am arguing that Saladin publicized and polished this image into something that would incite Muslim attention and animosity, when previously the military orders had hardly been noticed.

This earlier attitude appeared in Usama ibn Munqidh's reference to the courtesy of the Templars who used the Aqsa mosque as their headquarters.[49] They cleared out the little mosque that had been converted into a church so that Usama could pray in it. Usama wrote favourably of them 'I went into the al-Aqsa Mosque – where the Templars, who are my friends, were'.[50] Usama used the word *aṣdiqāʾī* – the masculine plural with the possessive ending – defining these Templars as 'my friends'.[51] Although this event took place perhaps between 1138 and 1144, Usama was probably writing in Damascus in about 1183, in his ninetieth lunar year.[52] His book, *Kitāb al-Iʿtibār*, was probably intended for Saladin because the part containing this anecdote and others on warfare against infidels and Muslims ends with a long encomium complimenting Saladin.[53] Usama gave fulsome praise to Saladin, who in 1174 had recalled the discarded old man to his court from a decade of retirement and writing, 500 miles away in 'Hisn Kayfa, far off in the upper reaches of the Tigris River'.[54] Usama gushed:

> 'In his mercy he sought me out . . . [from] a place beyond mountains, beyond plains
> a forsaken corner of the world, having no kith, no kin.'
> 'By his good-will, from misfortune's fangs was I snatched,
> bearing me up to his exalted gateway in his grace overflowing, unmatched.
> The parts of me Time had broken, he put them in splints to hold,
> and in his generosity he found a market for that which others had deemed
> unsaleable, too old.'[55]

> 'His gifts, as I sleep, bang on my door,
> making their way to me though I am retired, in service no more.
> Every day I gain something more from the kindness he gave;
> he treats me like family though I am his lowliest slave.'[56]

In fact Usama's relationship with Saladin had been more problematic than his poetry suggests, and it included a period when he was forced to leave Saladin's court.[57] This suggests that Usama would not knowingly include something that would offend his hoped-for patron. This wily old diplomat and experienced politician was a master of *adab*, refinement or good manners in moral and social situations as well as literature.[58] If, in 1183, Saladin's relations with the Templars were as hostile as at Hattin, Usama would not have written so positively about them as 'my friends'.

Evidence that in the 1150s the Muslims paid little attention to the military orders comes from the late appearance of the first written, Arabic specific terms for the Templars and Hospitallers, *dāwiyya* and *isbitāriyya*. Ibn al-Qalānisī, who died in 1160, mentions them in his Damascus *Chronicle* under 1157 (552 A.H.) as a force that was convincingly defeated near Bānyās (Belinus).[59] These terms were used without explanation, suggesting they were in common use in Damascus by the 1150s. However the military orders were shown as easy to defeat and there was no suggestion they had a fearsome reputation as warriors. Even Usama, who knew Templars from the 1140s, did not appear to recognize the Franks responding to his 1150 attack on Hospitaller (Jibelin or Gybelin) Bayt Jibrīl.[60] He characterized them as 'Franks . . . assembled from their fortresses', although they probably included Hospitallers and possibly Templars.[61] They failed to attack as the vulnerable Muslim attendants, 'those who led the extra horses crossed right beneath them', but instead they 'did not even send one horseman down against them for fear of some ambush or trick'.[62] Rather than being so formidable that they must be exterminated, Usama portrayed them as timid, claiming 'The Franks . . . are the most cautious of all men in war.'[63] Unfortunately there is no room here to speculate on the extent of the militarization of the Hospitallers by this date or whether these were brothers wearing their distinctive habits or secular, mercenary knights, employed by the Hospitallers.[64] Instead I would argue that in the period before the mid-1180s the military orders were hardly mentioned; they were not well known and had not developed their later fearsome reputation among the Muslims. That change was due to Saladin's propaganda machine.

We might suppose that the 'fearsome reputation' of the military orders was part of the reason that Baybars executed the Templar garrison after they surrendered at Ṣafad (Saphet) in 1266 (664 A.H.).[65] Ibn al-Furāt used reports from Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, the head of Baybars' chancery and authorized biographer.[66] He recorded the explanation Baybars gave to his emirs which justified his order to execute the prisoners.[67] Baybars claimed that he had not taken the oath granting an amān (guarantee of safe conduct) and that the prisoners had 'come out without a recognized safe-conduct'.[68] Furthermore, Baybars claimed they had broken the conditions against taking away arms or money by trying to leave with concealed weapons and their Muslim prisoners.[69] The Templars had tried to justify taking these prisoners by falsely claiming that they had converted to Christianity.[70] All this, Baybars argued, would have invalidated the agreement even if he had sworn to it.[71] Christian accounts of the surrender do not mention the Templars breaking their oath.[72] However, it is not crucial to the analysis of the military orders'

reputation whether Ibn ‘Abd al- Ẓāhir’s account was factually accurate or whether it was a panegyric, sanitized version, commissioned, constructed and checked to enhance Baybars’ reputation. Peter Holt argued that Ibn ‘Abd al- Ẓāhir had no intention of depicting ‘this Turkish *Heerkönig* as he really was’.[73] Instead ‘the purpose governing his work as a whole’ was the ‘presentation’ to the ‘indigenous Arabic-speaking Muslims of Egypt and Syria . . . a venerable and literate civilization’ of a ‘barbarian war-leader’ as ‘an heroic and pious Muslim ruler’.[74] What is important for the current analysis is the type of arguments that Baybars used to justify killing prisoners who had apparently surrendered and would normally be released, ransomed or enslaved. Although his audience of ‘the emirs and the leaders from the Egyptian and the Syrian forces’ would have included fellow Mamluks, mainly Kipchak Turks, purchased, converted and trained in Egypt, he also had to make his actions comprehensible to his indigenous Muslim allies and subjects.[75] Unlike Saladin, Baybars did not base his argument on the military orders’ prowess, ferocity or implacable enmity to Islam. Nor did he emphasize religious or *jihad* considerations. Although the religious elite took part in the expedition and Ibn al-Furāt judged that their prayers were answered when the garrison cried out to surrender just as the Friday sermon ended, Baybars did not mention religious considerations or ‘unclean races’.[76] Instead, the violation of the agreement was the crucial factor for him. Moreover, Baybars executed not only the Templar garrison and some Hospitaller knights but also the lay ‘Franks’, who Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir described as ‘Franks and Christians and the *musta‘riba* (Arabized non-Arabs, probably Syrians)’.[77] During the siege Baybars had tried to split ‘by guile’ the Frankish and Syrian Christian defenders from the Templars, by offering them amnesty and persuading the ‘Franks’ to surrender separately.[78] Eventually the ‘Franks’ were given a safe-conduct on condition they did not take arms or money with them.[79] Instead of singling out the military orders because of their ferocity, Baybars executed everyone who had broken faith and defied him. Baybars spared only the two Arabic-speaking messengers who had negotiated the ill-fated surrender.[80] One was the Templar brother Leon, who had previously been given a drink by Baybars and under the rules of hospitality could not then be killed.[81] Frère Leon (*Ifrīr Liyūn*) subsequently joined Baybars, converted to Islam and received rewards and favours in his service.[82] This allowed Baybars to be portrayed upholding the standards of traditional Arab honour while behaving as a pious Muslim, ‘forbidding evil and promoting good’, by subduing his enemies and then rewarding them when they embraced Islam. The other messenger was a Hospitaller, who was spared in order to spread the news.[83] Ibn al-Furāt claimed that this Hospitaller hid with the Hospitallers in Acre for fear the Templars would blame him for treachery for not forcing Baybars to take the oath.[84] This Hospitaller carried a letter to Master Hugh Revel, goading him for his earlier letter to Baybars in which Hugh had claimed that he was ‘not concerned’ about the Muslim army taking Arsūf or Ṣafad.[85]

I would argue that Baybars did not see the military orders as having a ‘fearsome reputation’. Although he was infuriated by their continued resistance, he did not treat them differently but instead was determined to punish everyone who broke

their agreement with him. Whether Baybars was genuinely angry about Templar dishonesty at Ṣafad or exploiting a legal loophole, or both, the massacre sent such a powerful message that the Hospitallers hurried to make a truce protecting Krac des Chevaliers and Margat while the Templars made one protecting Tortosa (Anṭaṭūs) and Chastel Blanc (Ṣāfīthā).[86]

This faithlessness at Ṣafad in 1266 was not the first time that the military orders were portrayed as infuriating Baybars by trying to wriggle out of a truce. The Frankish envoys replied to Baybars' accusations that they had not implemented the terms of the 1261 truce between Baybars and the kingdom of Jerusalem by claiming the Templars were to blame for failing to hand over Muslim captives, who they preferred to keep as workers, and for failing to compensate the merchants as agreed.[87] The 'Templar of Tyre' also claimed the Templars preferred to keep the well-trained Muslim craftsmen rather than arrange the 'deliverance of poor Christian slaves' who were not useful to them.[88] However, in 1263 Baybars strengthened his position by tricking and imprisoning this rival, al-Mughīth 'Umar, who some saw as the rightful Ayyubid heir.[89] This left Baybars free, as Holt put it, 'to call the envoys of the military orders to account'.[90] The Templar negotiator, brother Matthew Sauvage, preceptor of Cyprus, may have been among the envoys on the receiving end of Baybars' vitriolic tirade.[91] The Franks had failed to release Muslim captives and compensate merchants and had seized and killed one of the sultan's ambassadors who was travelling through Cyprus.[92] Baybars harangued the envoys that it was customary that messengers be treated well, even in wartime. Seizing and killing an ambassador violated the Franks' honour and if they had not consented to it they should rebel, write to the 'king of the Franks and the Pope' and have the papal legate excommunicate the 'Lord of Cyprus'.[93] The Templar Matthew also carried back a verbal message from Baybars to the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel as part of their continuing correspondence about the Hospitallers failing to honour their truce concerning Arsūf.[94]

Even before the coastal strongholds had fallen, Baybars was treating the Franks, including the supposedly 'fearsome' military orders, with scorn. If anything this provocation and ruthlessness increased after the massacre at Ṣafad. Jochen Burgtorf judged that '[a]ccording to . . . Ibn al-Furat, Matthew Sauvage had regular encounters with . . . Baybars who seems to have responded favourably whenever Matthew approached him for a request.'[95] Although I agree that Matthew was partially successful, he could not achieve significant benefits because Baybars was prepared to give so little, and only when it suited him. For example, Matthew had to appear respectful and helpful, to 'present his services, and . . . travel in attendance on them'.[96] He had to surrender the Templar half of (Gibel) Jabala in return for the 1268 truce covering (Chastel Blanc) Ṣāfīthā and (Tortosa) Anṭaṭūs.[97] However, the Hospitallers would not give up their share of Jabala.[98] When a dispute arose over sharing the crop, the Hospitallers attacked Baybars' men and killed some.[99] Although the Hospitaller master asked the Muslim ruler of Hama to 'smooth the way for him to excuse himself to the Sultan', Baybars had the Hospitaller prisoners executed in retaliation.[100]

Baybars was prickly and quick to take offence. In 1268 (666 A.H.) his army camped outside Hospitaller Krac des Chevaliers, which was then protected by a

truce.[101] The Hospitallers made an excuse that '[w]e shut the gates only out of solicitude for the Sultan's army to protect them from the western Franks whom we have with us. For they have no fear of death.'[102] Ibn al-Furāt portrayed Baybars' anger at this insult: 'The Sultan found this remark hard to stomach, as westerners in the garrison numbered less than one hundred and certainly had no power to do any harm to the armies of Islam.'[103] However, Baybars was busy and continued on his way to destroy Antioch.

Moreover, despite the truces, by 1271 Baybars took Krac des Chevaliers and Chastel Blanc. Furthermore, Ibn al-Furāt reported, when Baybars raided Ṣāfīthā (Chastel Blanc), the Templar garrison had

> asked for quarter, but then . . . broke their agreement . . . The Commander of . . . Tortosa, [probably Matthew again] interced[ed] . . . and promised he would order them to surrender. The sultan agreed to this . . . and [t]hey came down. [But Baybars] had made up his mind to kill them because they had not trusted to his safe-conduct . . . [B]ut [his son and heir] al-Malik al-Sa'īd interceded for them, and [Baybars] let them go for his sake.[104]

The circumstances surrounding Baybars' massacres and near-massacres show that the military orders no longer had a 'fearsome reputation' and were not targeted because they were a serious threat. Instead on occasions Baybars agreed a surrender that spared the military orders, taking them prisoner at Templar Shafīq Arnūn (Beaufort) and letting them leave at Hospitaller Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krac des Chevaliers) and Teutonic al-Qurain (Montfort).[105] Baybars' treatment of them shows his disdain for their weakness. They were unable to withstand the military pressure and were forced to ingratiate themselves and make humiliating and precarious truces.

To cap it all the expectation in western Christendom was that the orders should fight the infidel rather than try to build mutually beneficial relations. At the Templar trial in 1311 Antony Sici of Vercelli, who had worked as a notary for the Order in the east, made a deposition claiming the Matthew Sauvage had been the sultan's blood-brother.[106] The Templar Hugh of Narsac's deposition stated that the Master William of Beaujeu and Matthew Sauvage had maintained amicable relations with the sultan and the Muslims. Matthew had interacted directly, whereas William had employed Muslims.[107] Hugh reported that both 'claimed they had done so, for the sake of [the Templars] safety'.[108] Yet, although these might be frightened witnesses trying to shift the blame before unsympathetic trial officials, I think Hugh's assessment was very fair. I would agree with him, that the Templars' safety had depended on their attempts to develop mutually beneficial relations to avoid defeat, enslavement and massacre.

To conclude, I believe the relationship between the Muslims and the military orders changed over time. Initially the military orders were hardly noticed and not famed for their military prowess. Saladin's propaganda machine was pivotal in building up their reputation as fearsome and fanatical warriors, too dangerous to Islam to be allowed to live. Saladin needed a way to turn his former Muslim rivals into allies and bind them to him by *jihad*. Building up the military orders' image as the ultimate enemy helped him to focus his allies. The spectacle of their massacre

was both reward and motivation to continue the *jihad*. Yet although Saladin had tried to build a relationship of fear and hostility between Muslims and the military orders, it did not last. The Mamluk massacre of Templar prisoners at Ṣafad was not because the warriors were too fierce to be allowed to live, but to show that they were too weak to resist. As a consequence the military orders sought to avoid conflict and instead pursued a policy of mutually beneficial compromises and truces, in contradiction to their portrayal by Saladin as a fanatically hostile enemy. It is that alternative story of cooperation that I hope to pursue in my future work on the military order's relations with their Muslim neighbours in the Latin East.

Notes

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5 The battle of Arsuf/Arsur, a reappraisal of the charge of the Hospitallers

Stephen Bennett[1]

A scarcity of military manuals covering western military practice during the High Middles Ages, along the lines of Emperor Maurice's *Strategikon*, necessitates a search for clues amid the, largely clerical, primary sources.[2] One such tantalising glimpse of how a medieval general might seek to control his army in battle emerges from an interrogation of various eyewitness accounts of the battle of Arsuf (also known as Arsur), fought on 7 September 1191 during the course of the Third Crusade.

The breakdown of Richard the Lionheart's careful advance from Acre to Jaffa in late summer 1191 has been attributed to a loss of control by the marshal of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers) and an 'English knight'. Screaming, 'St George!' the two knights are described as bursting out of formation and leading their troops in a desperate charge against Saladin's army.[3] In modern accounts, King Richard has been depicted as watching in horror as successive units of crusaders join the Hospitallers, forcing him to reinforce their reckless charge or risk disaster. Indeed, Tom Asbridge has suggested that Richard did not plan to fight that day, but sought to avoid battle and reach Jaffa with his army intact.[4] Whatever his intentions, it would be uncharacteristic for Richard not to have made adequate provision for a potential engagement.[5]

This chapter will argue that experienced commanders, who were acting under Richard's delegated authority, led the charge of the Hospitallers. Rather than a failure in discipline, their charge provides a rare example of how a medieval general might decentralise command to trusted subordinates to act in accordance with his overall intent. This permitted him to overcome the inherent complexities of controlling a large and diverse army without the aid of a reliable and instantaneous communication system.

The source of the traditional version of events is Ambroise, the author of a chronicle of the Third Crusade written in rhyming verse sometime before 1199. Surviving through a single Vatican manuscript, the poet was seemingly a member of Richard's household who wrote as an eyewitness to the king's role at the siege of Acre and the subsequent campaign in Palestine.[6] Books two to six of *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* appear to be closely related to this work. Helen Nicholson has compellingly argued that the author had amended an incomplete copy of Ambroise's text based on additional information – most probably the first-hand experiences of the compiler of the work, Richard de Templo.[7]

Both works present broadly similar accounts of the march from Acre and the battle of Arsuf. Initially placing the French contingent in the rearguard under the command of Hugh, duke of Burgundy, King Richard reorganised the marching column after a Saracen force was able to separate the French from the remainder of the column.[8] Thereafter the Templars formed the vanguard with the Hospitallers holding the rear.[9] Having successfully negotiated their way through the forest of Arsuf, the two authors described the column coming under attack by Saladin's forces. The rearguard was a particular focus for enemy attention and the Hospitallers sent word that they were under considerable pressure. Shortly afterwards, the master of the Order of St John, Garnier de Nablus, came to personally seek permission from the king to launch a counterattack, but Richard turned him down.[10] Ambroise then described two knights launching a charge against the wishes of the king:

> All was lost because of two men who could not hold back from charging, They rushed forward first and left two Turks dead. One of these was a knight, the Marshal of the Hospitallers, The other Baldwin le Carron, who was as bold as a lion, a companion of the king of England who had brought him from his land.[11]

Richard de Templo's account is virtually identical, but, interestingly, 'brought from his land' might be alternatively interpreted as from Baldwin le Carron's land rather than Richard's. However, putting aside the question of nationality for one moment, both sources referred to Baldwin as a companion or comrade of the king of England. This strongly indicates that he was a member of the royal household or *mesnée*.[12] If so, one might wonder why a member of the royal household was fighting with the Hospitallers rather than alongside his king. The other striking piece of information from both accounts is the leading role taken by the marshal of the Hospitallers.

The marshal of the Order of St John of Jerusalem

Lacking a surviving copy of the military statutes of the Hospitallers, the hierarchical statues of the other military order, the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon (the Templars), provides a useful point of departure. The Templars' French Rule *c.*1165 described the marshal as the leading military official, responsible for the collection and distribution of all military equipment and horses. Vitally, he is identified as commanding Templar forces in the field, and statutes 164 and 165 detailed how the marshal should personally lead a charge.[13] Moreover, statute 162 specified that no brother might charge or leave the ranks of their squadron without permission.[14] The statutes also listed the marshal as a senior officer in the Order, outranked only by the master and the seneschal, who took the place of the master when he was absent. They stipulated that the marshal of the Convent of the Temple (in Jerusalem) commanded the arms of the house, as well as all sergeant brothers and men-at-arms.[15]

The Hospitallers had their origin in a pilgrim hospital founded in Jerusalem around 1070, but following the example of the Templars, in time added military service to its works with the frail and the poor.[16] A marshal is first noted for the Hospitallers *c.*1165.[17] Papal confirmation of the Rule issued in 1185, and Roger de Moulins' statutes of 1187 both survived the Muslim reconquest of Jerusalem, but neither made any mention of military matters.[18]

Accounts of the brothers' involvement in battle indicate that the Hospitallers were just as well organised and disciplined as the Templars, with a broadly similar organisation. For example, in *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*, written 1168–1187, the anonymous author described the two military orders in a list of the peoples of the Levant.[19] They are introduced together and the closing line on the Hospitallers suggests that, in addition to their medical responsibilities, they follow similar military practices:[20] 'The Hospitallers wear a white cross on their cloaks, good knights [as they are]; alongside their service as knights, they manage the care of the poor and sick, with their own strict rule.'[21] The marshal is described as acting as the Hospitallers' military leader in battle following the military reforms laid out under the direction of Master Alfonso of Portugal, the natural son of King Alfonso Henriques, in the Statutes of Margat of 1204/1206. In *The Central Convent of the Hospitallers and Templars*, Jochen Burgtorf argues that these were not new regulations, but a codification of practices introduced in the last quarter of the twelfth century.[22] As Helen Nicholson states, 'the lack of early statutes does not indicate a lack of military organisation.'[23] I would also argue that the resemblance of the statutes of Margat to the legislative texts of the Templars enacted prior to 1187 is highly suggestive. Ambroise and the *Itinerarium* reinforce this conclusion in their description of Garnier de Nablus' remonstration with Richard I. The marshal's role as the tactical commander of the Hospitaller contingent would have freed Garnier to leave his men at a critical time. Moreover, both sources go on to specifically mention a Hospitaller rule not to break ranks when they described the actions of a Hospitaller, Robert de Bruges, during a skirmish at Betenoble on 12 June 1192:

> He was already beyond the gonfanon as he galloped out upon hearing the cries and getting further from his brothers [against the master's rule] that they should not distance themselves from the army. He was so desirous of spurring on that he inevitably distanced himself from the others, spurring on the wonderful, strong horse which he was riding straight for a Turk he had spotted, elegant and well-turned out.[24]

Ambroise went on to relate how the master disciplined Robert, ordering him to dismount and 'learn how you should obey the rule'.[25] Given that the Templar rule permitted a brother to break ranks without permission to save a 'foolish' Christian under Turkish attack, this passage suggests that the Hospitallers were at least as stringent as the Templars in controlling the actions of members of the Order in combat.[26] I suggest that it would have been noteworthy if anyone but the marshal had instigated the charge.

Although we do not have anything firm on the role of a Hospitaller marshal for the period of the Third Crusade, we can safely state that they were a senior military officer of a highly respected and disciplined formation, probably a veteran, possibly with previous service in the Latin East. We have two possible candidates for the marshal: Lambert and William Borrell or Borell. Borrell had overseen the running of the order as conventual preceptor (grand commander) after the death of Roger de Moulins, master of the Hospitallers, at the battle of the Springs of Cresson on 1 May 1187 through to the appointment of the new master *c.*June 1188.[27] On the appointment of Armenguad of Asp as master, Borrell reverted to his previous rank of preceptor.[28] Around the same time Lambert was identified as the marshal. Borrell was appointed marshal sometime afterwards as he appears in that role in a witness list dated to January 1193.[29]

Interestingly, the name Lambert was particularly popular in Flanders and Hainault, and it is not beyond the realms of possibility that Marshal Lambert was linked to Lambert de Wattrelos, the author of the *Annales Cameracensus*.[30] Lambert was a regular canon of St Aubert of Cambrai and, by his own testimony, he came from a line of Flemish knights. At the end of the eleventh century, his paternal grandfather had been a household knight to the bishop of Cambrai, but the family was seemingly in decline by the time of writing (1152–1170).[31] He was named after his maternal uncle and mentions two other ancestors named Lambert out of the nineteen male relations listed, an abbot of Saint-Bertin and another of Lobbes.[32]

Baldwin le Carron

Baldwin le Carron is described in the anonymous biography of William Marshall as a member of Young Henry's tournament team *c.*1180, 'Sir Baldwin le Caron, who was esteemed more than many other man of his rank: there was nobody better than he with lance and sword.'[33] Already a formidable knight over a decade before the battle of Arsuf, Marshall's biography placed Baldwin with the Flemish contingent, and Gilbert of Mons described him as the son of Roger of Rumes from Hainaut.[34] Gilbert also listed him as a household knight in the service of Baldwin V, count of Hainaut, having previously left the service of Philip d'Alsace, count of Flanders, following a 'disagreement' in 1184.[35] Count Baldwin then gave him a liege fief worth 600 pounds from Quérénaing, about four miles south of Valenciennes. He acted as a judge in the court of Hainaut and was with Count Baldwin in Namur in 1185.[36] Count Baldwin gave the wealthy widow, Ida of Jauche, daughter of Goswin III of Mons, to Baldwin le Carron in marriage in 1184.[37] After the death of her brother, Goswin IV, Ida had inherited her father's lands and duties, and her uncle was Nicholas, bishop of Cambrai.[38] Ida's previous husband had died in 1184, but they had a son, Gérard.[39]

In 1187, Alard Fleming conducted a recruiting tour of the Low Countries on behalf of his master, King Henry II. Given Baldwin's earlier disagreement with the count of Flanders, membership of the Angevin contingent would probably have seemed a more attractive proposition than joining Philip d'Alsace.[40] In any account, some time after the king of England's death on 6 July 1189, Baldwin

was in the service of Henry's eldest surviving son, Richard the Lionheart. Roger of Howden described Baldwin withstanding a sally by the Muslim garrison of Acre on 11 November 1190.[41] So it appears that Richard initially placed him with his advance guard along with the archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, and Ranulf de Glanvill, former chief justiciar of England, who had left Marseilles on 5 August 1190.[42]

We next find him at the battle of Arsuf and jointly leading the charge of the Hospitallers (7 September 1191).[43] As we have seen, the author of the *Itinerarium* described Baldwin as a 'comrade of King Richard',[44] and Ambroise called him a 'companion of the king of England'.[45] Then on 17 June 1192 he was sub-commander of the escort to a supply caravan attacked by the Saracens. Thrown from his horse twice, he was provided with fresh mounts by his men each time. On losing his third horse, he was wounded, but was then rescued by Robert, earl of Leicester.[46] This suggests that King Richard's trust in Baldwin does not seem to have been diminished by his conduct at the battle of Arsuf, as he went on to hold this command position later in the campaign. The *Chronicle of Hainaut* includes Baldwin in a list of the Third Crusade fallen, and a family charter confirms his death in the Levant sometime before 1212.[47] The same charter indicated that he had become the lord of Rumes sometime before departing for the Holy Land.[48]

If there was a breakdown in discipline in the Hospitaller ranks, as Ambroise and the *Itinerarium* assert, it was led by one of, if not the senior military commander of the Hospitallers and enjoyed the approval of one of Richard's subordinate commanders. Of the two, Baldwin at least was a veteran, and it is also very likely the marshal had a degree of military experience. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that both lost control, but neither individual is a natural match for a reckless and disobedient knight. In any event, a potential loss of control does not undermine my argument on the role each man played in the battle, that is, the marshal as the tactical commander of the Hospitallers and Baldwin le Carron as Richard's liaison officer to the Order.

Unsurprisingly, two surviving letters from Richard I and dated to shortly after the battle gave no indication that he lost control of the army. However, these can be cross-referenced with another eyewitness account, that of Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, who served as Saladin's chief judge of the army (*qadi al-'askar*). Richard's first letter, written at Jaffa on 1 October 1191, is fairly succinct and of little use here.[49] The second, written at the same time, was addressed to Garnier de Rochefort, abbot of Clairvaux, and contains more detail:

> Our vanguard was proceeding and was already laying out camp at Arsuf, when Saladin and his Saracens made a violent attack on our rearguard, but by grace of God's favourable mercy they were forced into flight by only the four squadrons that were opposite them. The Christian squadrons pursued them for a league [5.56 km]. Such was the slaughter of Saladin's more noble Saracens, that he lost more that day near Arsuf – it was a Sunday, the vigil of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary – than on any day in the previous 40 years.[50]

King Richard then wrote of their march to Jaffa and his fortification of the site with ditches and a wall. Both accounts agreed that Saladin was seeking to bring the crusaders to battle and that the (Templar) vanguard had halted near Arsuf. They both related that the (Hospitaller) rearguard was under some pressure. A mounted charge by the crusaders then succeeded in driving away the Saracens, causing significant loss to Saladin's army, and allowing the crusader army to continue its advance to Jaffa unhindered, which it then fortified. Neither account suggested that the charge was uncontrolled or disorganised. Indeed, the account of Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad provides a very different description of the moment the charge was launched from that of Ambroise:

> Eventually, the first detachments of their infantry reached the plantations of Arsuf. Then their cavalry massed together and agreed on a charge, as they feared for their people and thought that only a charge would save them. I saw them grouped together in the middle of the foot soldiers. They took their lances and gave a shout as one man. The infantry opened gaps for them and they charged in unison along their whole line. One group charged our right wing, another our left and the third our centre, which took to wholesale flight.[51]

The chronicler, Ibn al-Athīr, who was more critical of Saladin, but not an eyewitness to the battle, also corroborated Ibn Shaddad's account:

> Next the Franks marched from Caesarea to Arsuf. The Muslims had preceded them there and had not been able to shadow them because of the narrowness of the route. When the Franks reached them, the Muslims made a formidable charge and forced them back to the sea. Some entered the water and many of them were killed. When the Franks saw this, they grouped together and the cavalry as one man charged the Muslims who turned their backs in flight with no thought for one another.[52]

Richard's recollection of the battle and those of Muslim chroniclers challenge Ambroise's account and the related narrative in the *Itinerarium*. It is not hard to speculate on why Latin chroniclers of Richard's contingent might wish to seek scapegoats to explain the expedition's failure to destroy Saladin's army in the field and subsequently recapture Jerusalem. Baldwin and the marshal were outside the king's non-crusader household and both were most likely dead by the time Ambroise wrote his account, which arguably made them attractive candidates for this role. However, Ambroise might as easily be relating the frustrations of an army that came close to destroying their enemies in the field but was denied a decisive victory.

Of more interest to this chapter is the likely role of Baldwin le Carron in the crusader army and what that tells us of Richard's mindset. There is another clue in the *Itinerarium,*

> At this the master of the Hospital went to the king. "Lord king," he said, "we are being violently attacked. We will be stained with eternal dishonour as if

> we did not dare to fight back. Each of us is losing his mount at no cost to the enemy. What more must we bear?" "Good master," the king replied, "you must sustain their attack; no one can be everywhere."[53]

King Richard could not be everywhere. In order to facilitate a degree of control over the disparate forces that made up the crusader army, the positioning of experienced knights, such as Baldwin le Carron, in key locations to act as liaison officers, would have been quite prudent. In order to fulfil such as role, each liaison officer would have required a clear understanding of his king's intentions and be able to communicate them clearly to the commander of the unit he was attached to. Ideally, they should have been permitted a degree of latitude in interpreting their instructions in the midst of a fluid and evolving situation. If Marshal Lambert were indeed from the Low Countries then an experienced Flemish knight, such as Baldwin le Carron, would have been an ideal candidate to ensure Richard I's intentions were understood and adhered to by the tactical commander of his rearguard.

By stationing trusted subordinates in key positions who understood his intent, King Richard sought to ensure that the marching column retained its cohesion despite being under pressure from persistent Saracen attack. Moreover, it suggests that he was not only content to make it to Jaffa safely; he was prepared to give battle should the circumstances prove favourable. Although the battle may arguably have taken place slightly ahead of schedule,[54] I suggest that, by placing experienced members of his household in key positions, Richard ensured that an opportunity to inflict a significant defeat on the enemy, however fleeting, would not have been missed. Rather than a failure in discipline, accounts of the charge provide a rare glimpse of how a medieval general might decentralise command to trusted subordinates to act in accordance with his overall intent and improve the chances of success amid the maelstrom of close combat.

Notes

1 I would like to thank Benjamin Kedar, Kelly DeVries, Xavier Baecke, and Helen Nicholson for their generous help. I am also grateful to Martin Hall and Ian Wilson for commenting on earlier versions of this chapter.
2 G. T. Dennis, ed. & trans., *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine military strategy* (Philadelphia, PA, 1984), pp. 58–63. One obvious exception to this is the Rule of the Templars, which will be discussed later.
3 See, for example, J. Phillips, *Holy Warriors, A Modern History of the Crusades* (London, 2009), pp. 155–6.
4 T. S. Asbridge, *The Crusades, The War for the Holy Land* (London, 2010), pp. 466–74.
5 See J. Gillingham, 'Richard I and the Science of Warfare', in *War and Government: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingam and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 78–91.
6 Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War, Ambroise's* Estoire de la Guerre Sainte, ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003), II, pp. 1–23.
7 H. J. Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 12–14.
8 For more on marching columns, see the revised edition of R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, *1097–1193* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 156–65.

9 Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, ll. 5694–5861; *Itinerarium*, pp. 251–2.
10 Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, ll. 6375–83; *Itinerarium*, pp. 236–40.
11 '*Mais par deus homes les perdirent, Qui pas de poindre ne se tindrent, Mais tut li premerains 'eslaisserent, Si que deus Turs morz i laisserent. L'un des deus fud uns chevaliers, Li mareschal Ospitaliers; L'autre iert Baudowins li Carons, Qui iert hardiz com uns leons; Compainz iert le rei d'Engleterre, Qui I'ot amené de sa terre*', Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, ll. 6413–21.
12 See, for example, C. W. Hollister, *The Military Organisation of Norman England* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 174–5; J. O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 1–37; and J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 67–9.
13 M. Barber and K. Bate, *The Templars: Selected Sources* (New York, 2002), p. 72.
14 J. M. Upton-Ward, trans., *The Rule of the Templars, The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 59–60, statutes 161–8.
15 Upton-Ward, trans., *The Rule of the Templars*, pp. 39–66, statutes 77–197. Analysis of those statutes can be found in M. Bennett, '*Le Règle du Temple* as a Military Manual, or How to Deliver a Cavalry Charge', in *The Rule of the Templars*, trans. Upton-Ward, pp. 175–88.
16 A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Early Written Records', in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 135–54. See also J. G. Schenk, 'Nomadic Violence in the First Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Military Orders', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 36 (2010), 39–55.
17 J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 313–15.
18 Luttrell, 'Early Written Records', pp. 137–43.
19 B. Z. Kedar, 'The Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane', in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, pp. 111–31.
20 Statute 167 of the Templar Rule stipulated that if a brother were unable to rally to the Templars' banner, he should seek out the Hospitallers and remain with them until able to rejoin his own order: *The Rule of the Templars*, trans. Upton-Ward, p. 60.
21 '*Hospitalarii vero albam crucem portant in clamide, milites boni, cum ipsa militia pauperum et infirmorum curam gerentes, suam observantiam et disciplinam habentes*', Kedar, '*Tractatus*', p. 126.
22 J. Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden and Boston, 2008).
23 H. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 22.
24 Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, ll. 9885–946; see also *Itinerarium*, pp. 329–30.
25 Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, ll. 9906–8.
26 *The Rule of the Templars*, trans. Upton-Ward, p. 59, statute 163.
27 Borrell was listed as '*praeceptor Hospitalis*' as a witness to a charter issued in Tyre by the prelates and barons of the East for the Genoese, see *RRH*, p. 659. In *The Central Convent* (pp. 75–8), Burgtorf records that Borrell has also acted as grand preceptor under Roger of Moulins, and remained in Tyre with Conrad of Montferrat until he handed over control of the order to Armengaud of Asp. See also J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land, Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 11–12, 138, 148.
28 In October 1188, Armengaud confirmed the rule of the female Hospitallers at Sigena and this was witnessed by Borrell as '*praeceptor Jerusalem*', and '*fratis Lamberti marescalci*', see *RRH*, p. 677; *CH*, I, no. 860.
29 Listed as '*frater Willelmus Borrel marescalcus': Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, p. 708; *CH*, I, no. 941.

30 Lambert of Wattrelos wrote the genealogical chronicle of his family between 1152 and *c*. 1170, the original Latin text is contained in *MGH SS,* 16 (Hanover, 1859), pp. 509–54. See also F. Vercauteren, 'Une parente dans la France du Nord aux XIe et XIIe siecles', *Le Moyen Age*, 69 (1963), 223–45; and G. Duby, 'Structure de parente et noblesse, France du nord, XIe–XIIe siecles', in *Miscellanea mediaevalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer*, ed. J. B. Wolters (Groningen, 1967), pp. 149–65. After Lambert's death *c*.1180, copies of his work were kept in Saint-Vaast (the family abbey of the Béthune family), Marchiennes, and Vormezeele.

31 G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (London and Berkeley, 1977), pp. 135–43.

32 Other well-known Lamberts include a canon of Saint-Omer, who composed a genealogy of the counts of Flanders a little after 1164 and Lambert d'Ardes, whose study on the counts of Guines and the lords of Ardres was completed sometime after 1203. See Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. L. Shopkow (Philadephia, PA, 2007), p. 2.

33 '*Sire Baudewins de Karon, C'om preisout mielz que tel baron: N'ert nul d'asez par le contree, Mielz fereit de lance e d'espee*', see *The History of William Marshal, Volume 1 – Text and Translation (II. 1–10031)*, ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory with historical notes by D. Crouch (London, 2002), pp. 232–3.

34 Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut by Gilbert of Mons*, trans. L. Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 96. See also E. Warlop, *Flemish Nobility Before 1300*, *Part 2. Annexes. Alphabetic Repertory of Noble Families (Middle 9th. – End 13th. Century)* (Kortrijk, 1975), II, p. 1101.

35 It is possible that Baldwin le Carron was in the service of the count of Flanders during the Great Revolt against King Henry II and participated in the Philip d'Alsace's invasion of Normandy in 1173, but there are no indications that he joined him on crusade in 1177–1179.

36 Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, pp. 116, 18.

37 Ibid., pp. 33, 99.

38 Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, p. 136. Ida's mother, Beatrice of Hainaut, a niece of Count Baldwin III, was excommunicated in 1188: C.-G. Roland, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rumigny-Florennes* (Brussels, 1891), p. 140.

39 Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. 34, n. 138.

40 See J. H. Round, ed., *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (London, 1899), pp. 481–505, n. 1361. Baldwin le Carron was not alone in joining Richard's contingent, Otto de Trazegnies was another vassal of Count Baldwin V who had taken the cross *c*.21 February 1188 following a sermon at Mons by the papal legate, Henry of Albano. See H. van Werweke, 'La contribution de la Flandre et de Hainaut à la troisième croisade', *Le Moyen Age*, 78 (1972), 60, 71, 88.

41 W. Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169–1192* (2 vols, London, 1867), II, p. 144.

42 C. R. Young, *Hubert Walter: Lord of Canterbury and Lord England* (Durham, 1968), pp. 33–6.

43 Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, l. 6419; *Itinerarium*, pp. 252–3.

44 *Itinerarium*, p. 252.

45 Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, l. 6421.

46 Ibid., ll. 9920–47; *Itinerarium*, pp. 331–2.

47 Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. 96.

48 L. Dailliez, *Les templiers en Flandre, Hainaut, Brabant, Liège et Luxembourg* (Nice, 1978), pp. 333–4, n. 61 (fac-similé cartulaire); L. Devillers, *Inventaire commanderies Ordre Saint-Jean*, pp. 179–80; E. Warlop, *De Vlaamse adel vóór 1300* (Handzame, 1968), pp. 508, 193–9.

49 See Roger of Howden, *Chronicum*, RS 51 (4 vols, London, 1868–71), III, pp. 129–30.

50 '*Et nostra anteriore custodia procedente, et castra apud Assur jam metante, Saladinus cum vehementi Sarracenorum incursa super ultimam custodiam nostrum impetum faciens, Divinæ miserationis favente gratia, a quatuor solummodo turmis, quæ ei in fronte oppositæ fuerant, compulsus est in fugam: ipsumque fugientem per unam leucam turmæ Christianorum plene sunt prosecutæ; tantamque stragem de nobilioribus Sarracenis quos Saladinus habebat, die illa, Sabbato videlicet, vigilia Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ virginis, prope Assur fecerunt, quantam Saladinus quadraginta annis transactis antea, una die non sustinuit*': Howden, *Chronicum*, III, p. 131. See also, P. W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. Sources in Translation* (Hampshire, 1998), pp. 179–81.

51 Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2002), p. 175.

52 Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh. Vol. 2: The Years 541/589/1146–1193, the Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 390–1.

53 *Itinerarium*, pp. 251–2.

54 B. Z. Kedar, 'King Richard's plan for the Battle of Arsuf/Arsur, 1191', in *The Medieval Way of War: Studies in Medieval Military History in Honor of Bernard S. Bachrach*, ed. G. I. Halfond (Farnham, 2015), pp. 117–32.

6 Pope Honorius III, the military orders and the financing of the Fifth Crusade

A culture of papal preference?

Thomas W. Smith

The Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) was funded in part through the three-year tax of a twentieth on ecclesiastical income levied by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) at the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215. The collection and transfer of the tax was administered by Innocent III's successor, Pope Honorius III (1216–1227), who employed devolved and centralized systems in tandem. Vital to the centralized system were the Templars and Hospitallers of Paris, who acted as bankers to Honorius and transferred tax revenues to subsidize the conflict being waged in the East. While the twentieth tax has been treated in part by studies of the Fifth Crusade and papal finance, detailed analysis of its machinery and operation has yet to appear in print.[1] This chapter tackles an important and under-researched aspect of the twentieth tax – the role played by the Templars and Hospitallers as middlemen in funding the Fifth Crusade. It addresses the themes of culture and conflict by scrutinizing how Honorius III used the orders to bankroll the crusade during the conflict and questioning whether a culture of preference existed at the papal curia for the use of Templars over the Hospitallers.

Innocent III levied the tax of a twentieth on ecclesiastical income in *Ad liberandam*, the constitution appended to the decrees of Lateran IV which launched the Fifth Crusade:

> We therefore decree, with the general approval of the council, that all clerics, both those under authority and prelates, shall give a twentieth of their ecclesiastical revenues for three years to the aid of the Holy Land, by means of the persons appointed by the apostolic see for this purpose; the only exceptions being certain religious who are rightly to be exempted from this taxation and likewise those persons who have taken or will take the cross and so will go in person. We and our brothers, cardinals of the holy Roman Church, shall pay a full tenth. Let all know, moreover, that they are obliged to observe this faithfully under pain of excommunication, so that those who knowingly deceive in this matter shall incur the sentence of excommunication.[2]

In order to set a good example, Innocent decreed that the papacy would pay a tenth towards the crusade; in addition it was legislated that crusaders would be exempted from paying taxes and interest on debts.[3] After winning the consent of the Church

hierarchy at Lateran IV – whose support would be essential to the effective collection of the tax – Innocent appears to have moved swiftly to nominate local collectors and send orders out to local clergy, instructing them to make payment by a specific date.[4] The extent to which this order was circulated, however, cannot be proven because it is taken from rubrics of the lost registers from the end of Innocent's reign, which record only that it was sent to 'diversis archiepiscopis et eorum suffraganeis'.[5] The likelihood, given the use of such terminology in the papal registers when encyclicals were being distributed throughout Christendom, is that Innocent's order was disseminated widely, although this must remain conjecture. This notwithstanding, any such order that Innocent made was superseded by Honorius's first collection mandates which were issued in November 1216 and February 1217.[6] Though Innocent was the prime mover in laying the legislative groundwork for the tax, the much more demanding task of overseeing its collection and transfer was bequeathed to Honorius when Innocent died in July 1216. As Helmut Roscher has noted though, if anyone at the papal curia was up to the task, it was Honorius, who had served the decade between 1188 and 1198 as papal chamberlain.[7]

Honorius made his first move to begin collection of the twentieth on 21 November 1216 when he issued the first collection mandate.[8] The 1216 mandate delineates the process by which the tax was to be collected. Opening with a reminder that the entire Church had agreed to the tax 'in concilio generali' and restating the threat of excommunication for fraud, the pope named the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars and the cantor and treasurer of each province as the tax collectors.[9] It was the prerogative of these provincial collectors to appoint a four-man collection team composed of two suitable clergymen and a Templar and Hospitaller. Every province was then ordered to calculate a twentieth of its ecclesiastical income by 1 November 1217 and then to pay this amount by 1 May 1218. At first only the Premonstratensians and Cistercians were exempted from the tax, which probably reflected curial favour and lobbying behind the scenes.[10]

A second collection mandate was issued on 28 February 1217, which outlined the process by which the twentieth would be distributed among the crusaders.[11] Honorius wrote that after having taken advice on the fairest way to dole out the funds, he had decided to allocate the proceeds from the tax to the crusade contingents from the same locality – taxpayers would therefore see their contributions supporting local warriors.[12] The pope directed the local bishop and collectors to select four or five trustworthy crusaders from their diocese (including the bishop himself if he had taken the cross) who were to carry their local twentieth to the crusade army in the East.[13] On arrival these four or five were to share out the funds, with the approval of the papal legate, Pelagius, and the masters of the Hospital and Temple, among fellow crusaders from their area, and then acquire testimonial letters from the legate and the masters of the orders to verify that everything had been carried out properly.[14] The Hospitallers and Templars were therefore to play a key role in the collection of the tax in the West and its distribution in the East to further the military endeavours of the Fifth Crusade. The picture painted by Honorius of the role of the Hospital and the Temple in these mandates was one of parity.

According to the rules distributed in 1217, the transfer of the tax was to be effected according to a devolved system using local crusade contingents. Nevertheless, in response to pressure from the crusaders in the East, the pope also implemented a centralized system of collection and transfer to operate simultaneously alongside the devolved arrangement. It was the involvement of the two orders in this centralized transfer which brings into question whether there was a culture of preference at Honorius's curia for the use of the Templars over the Hospitallers to transmit tax revenue to the East.

The first recorded instance of the twentieth passing through the houses of the military orders in the West came even before the first collection mandate of November 1216 was sent out. The implementation of the neat system outlined by the pope in his letters of 1216–1217 was therefore already being modified by external influence – something witnessed throughout the Fifth Crusade, during which the special requests of petitioners (to retain and make use of the funds raised from their own localities, for instance) complicated the collection of the twentieth. On 12 November 1216, presumably in response to the abbot of Cluny's lobbying, Honorius issued a letter to the abbot allowing the order to collect its own twentieth and then transfer it to Aymard, treasurer of the Paris Temple.[15] At the same time the pope sent a letter to Aymard instructing him to expect receipt of funds from Cluny.[16] These two letters mark the beginning of an apparent trend for a culture of papal preference for employing the Paris Temple, an interpretation which finds support when one turns to the historiography.

The important role that the Paris Temple played in the centralized collection and transfer of the twentieth developed from its wider financial functions. From at least the reign of Philip Augustus (1180–1223) until the arrest of the Templars by Philip IV in 1307, the Paris Temple served as the French royal treasury.[17] From the second half of the twelfth century, the papacy also began using the Templars to deposit, exchange and transfer money.[18] Indeed, the way in which Honorius administered the twentieth at the Paris Temple was very similar to how Philip Augustus used it to manage his own tax collections. By the end of the twelfth century, Philip had begun depositing surplus tax collection funds at the Temple, which the Temple would pay out on receipt of a royal mandate.[19] Joshua Prawer noted that, during the mid-twelfth century, when the papacy awarded numerous privileges to the military orders, the popes were quick to realize the utility of having international orders with houses throughout the West and the Holy Land that were in direct obedience to the Roman Curia.[20] These attributes made the military orders the ideal institutions through which funds could be transferred directly to the army of the Fifth Crusade, for example by depositing money with the orders in the West, which could be withdrawn from one of their houses in the East.[21]

Léopold Delisle has drawn attention to the fact that the treasurer of the Paris Temple from 1202 to 1227, Brother Aymard, had travelled to Italy to meet with Innocent III after Lateran IV.[22] Delisle also noted that at the time of the Fifth Crusade, Aymard was handling financial transactions for the French nobility as well as the crown.[23] From the beginning of his appointment as treasurer, Aymard had implemented an effective system of accounting for Philip Augustus that

consolidated all state revenues and took into account the expenses incurred by the Temple and royal officials in carrying out their state duties, a system so effective that during the thirteenth century it was copied and introduced to other countries.[24] Therefore Aymard must have appeared one of the most experienced and suitable individuals to oversee the transfer of the Church's twentieth, and perhaps explains why the Templars of Paris apparently played a more high profile role than the Hospitallers.

Evidence from the papal registers at first appears to support the notion that there was a culture of preference at the curia for the use of the Templars, simply because more material survives to illustrate the employment of Templar brethren by the pope. For instance, on 5 April 1219 Honorius replied to the bishops of Noyon and Meaux regarding the twentieth, revealing that the bishops had collected it for two years along with donations from collection boxes and money from the redemption of vows and then transferred it to Aymard.[25] As the papal letter makes clear, Honorius was sending orders to the Paris Temple regarding the allocation of funds. In this case, only half of the twentieth was to be transferred by the order to the East; the rest was to be reserved for Philip Augustus's promised crusade to the south of France.

Unlike the devolved system of local collection and transfer, the very operation of the centralized system means that there is more surviving evidence for how it functioned – papal orders needed to be issued before money could be transferred from the Paris Temple to the papal legate on the crusade, Pelagius. On 15 June 1219, for example, Honorius wrote to Aymard, directing him to make such a transfer.[26] On at least one occasion, however, Aymard did not follow the pope's protocol, and transferred money to Egypt without a special papal mandate. Honorius dispatched a letter to the treasurer on 6 August 1220, rebuking him for allegedly sending 13,000 marks of silver to the East without a papal order and commanding him not to transfer any more money without a special mandate.[27]

This evidence of papal correspondence with Aymard, coupled with the historiographical attention on the banking functions of the Templars, seems to suggest that the Hospital was playing second fiddle to the Temple. This notion of the Paris Temple's predominance could, however, merely be a distortion of the evidence caused by two factors. The first is the focus of historians on the banking functions of the Templars at the expense of the Hospitallers; I am not aware of any studies of the Paris Hospital's thirteenth-century banking activities such as have been published on the Paris Temple.[28] The second factor is the practice of selective registration of documents at the papal curia: has the evidence that would flesh out the Hospital's role simply been lost, thus presenting a skewed picture?[29]

Although there is less evidence for the Hospital's involvement in the transfer of the twentieth, it is apparent that the Paris Temple did not have a monopoly on the transfer of the tax. During the Fifth Crusade the Spanish Church actively defrauded the twentieth tax, an abuse which, when it came to light at the curia in the summer of 1220, prompted Honorius to swing into action and examine the transfers that had been made from Spain.[30] The course that this investigation took provides valuable evidence for the under-appreciated role of the Paris Hospital in transferring the twentieth.

By 1 July 1220 the fraud being committed in Spain – spearheaded by papal representatives – had become known at the curia and prompted the dispatch of a number of letters to Spain and Egypt on that day. One letter was sent to the archbishop of Tarragona, charging him to investigate the fraud and enquire into the amounts collected in his diocese.[31] Another was sent to the chief perpetrator of the crime, the *legatus natus* Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, who received a severe dressing down for his role in the crime, which had disgraced the curia.[32] Honorius then moved to investigate the extent of the crime and ordered Pelagius to look into the receipts that he had received from the Paris Hospital.[33] This letter suggests that the Spanish twentieth was also being channelled to the East via the Hospital. Honorius then wrote to the Paris Hospital, ordering that they dispatch 4,000, 5,000, or 6,000 marks of silver from the English twentieth (sent to them by the legate, Pandulf, bishop of Norwich) in the next passage, presumably to make up for any deficit from the defrauded Spanish twentieth.[34] Honorius ordered the Paris Hospital to make up this transfer from other papal funds held there or any other money – which the curia would reimburse them for – if the English twentieth was not sufficient.[35]

The papal letters sent to the Hospitallers in the wake of the fraud being discovered carried the same orders as those issued to the Temple, although Honorius seemed surer that the Temple could find the full 6,000 marks, and did not suggest the sliding scale that he did to the Hospital. He sent orders to Aymard to transfer 6,000 marks of silver from the English twentieth to Pelagius, and if this was not sufficient, the pope instructed him to make up the deficit from other papal funds in the Temple.[36] Further evidence for the use of the Hospital came the next month, on 18 August 1220, when Honorius sent an order to his legate in England, Pandulf, that he should count out the twentieth, the census, and Peter's Pence from the kingdom, attach his seal to it, and then transfer it to the Templars and Hospitallers of Paris, while sending a written account of the sums involved to the curia.[37]

This evidence from the aftermath of the Spanish fraud is crucial to the analysis of the military orders' roles in the transfer of the twentieth. There are a number of important conclusions that can be drawn from the source material. It demonstrates that the Paris Hospital was playing an important role in the financial administration of the Fifth Crusade. Just like the Temple, the Hospital was being used to transfer the twentieth to the East, not only from England, but also from Spain and presumably elsewhere. Honorius seems to have had an agreed system of credit with the Hospital, just as he had with the Temple. The sums being cleared at the Hospital were just as large as those being dealt with by the Temple. Therefore I argue that there was a parity between the use of the Hospital and Temple in the transfer of the twentieth to finance the conflict of the Fifth Crusade. The evidence for the Hospital's role is a fortunate survival – if the Spanish fraud had been neither committed nor detected, we would be left only with papal mandates addressed to the Templar treasurer Aymard and a skewed interpretation of the financing of the Fifth Crusade resulting from them. The episode is a useful reminder of the incomplete nature of the papal registers.[38]

To conclude, there does not appear to have been a culture of preference at Honorius's curia for the employment of the Temple over the Hospital to transfer the twentieth tax. The evidence from this chapter suggests that in transferring funds to bankroll the Fifth Crusade, the Hospital's financial machinery and operation as an international bank was on a par with that of the Temple. Whether the Hospital could match the Temple in its roles as bankers to the kings and nobility, how mature its financial apparatus was by the 1220s, and whether it was consciously imitating the Temple, remains to be investigated. A fruitful avenue for further research could be to delve deeper into the Hospital's function as an international bank in the thirteenth century. This would redress the current imbalance in the historiography, which has to date lavished attention on the Templars at the expense of the Hospitallers in this period.

Notes

1 A chapter is devoted to the twentieth tax in my PhD thesis: T. W. Smith, *Pope Honorius III and the Holy Land Crusades, 1216–1227: A Study in Responsive Papal Government*, unpublished PhD thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2013), pp. 269–322. A monograph based on this thesis will be published by Brepols. The best treatment of the twentieth and the Fifth Crusade in print to date is J. M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, PA, 1986), pp. 89–106. On papal finance more generally, see: F. A. Cazel Jr, 'Financing the Crusades', in *HC*, vi, pp. 116–49; R. Kay, 'The Albigensian Twentieth of 1221–3: An Early Chapter in the History of Papal Taxation', *Journal of Medieval History*, 6 (1980), 307–15; W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, MA, 1939); Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (New York, 1934); and A. Gottlob, *Die päpstlichen Kreuzzugs-Steuern des 13. Jahrhunderts: Ihre rechtliche Grundlage, politische Geschichte und technische Verwaltung* (Heiligenstadt, 1892).

2 N. P. Tanner, ed. and tr., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Volume I: Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London, 1990), p. 269.

3 Ibid.

4 Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 243.

5 A. Theiner, ed., The letter rubrics are printed in *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium,* 2 vols (Rome, 1863–75; repr. Osnabrück, 1968), i (nos. 151, 152), p. 68.

6 Respectively: Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana (hereafter Reg. Vat.) 9, fols 25r–26r; P. Pressutti, ed., *Regesta Honorii Papae III,* 2 vols (Rome, 1888–95), no. 111; and Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 81; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 381.

7 H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen, 1969), p. 163.

8 Reg. Vat. 9, fols 25r–26r; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 111.

9 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 25: 'Ut igitur hoc salutare statutum debitum consequatur effectum, dilectis filiis magistris domorum militie Templi et Hospitalis Ierosolimitani in [*province name*] provincia constitutis, et cantori et thesaurario [*province name*]. Hanc sollicitudinem duximus committendam, dantes eis plenariam potestatem eligendi, et ordinandi, duos idoneos clericos sive plures, ac etiam duos fratres unum Templi et alium Hospitalis, quos auctoritate nostra per provinciam vestram transmittant, cum suarum testimonio litterarum ad ipsam vicesimam colligendam.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 111.

10 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 25v: 'Abbates autem Premonstrantensium et Cisterciensis ordinum per questores huiusmodi non providimus requirendos.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 111.

11 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 81; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 381.

12 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 81r: 'Sane super modo dispensandi huiusmodi vicesimam audivimus consilia diversorum, quibus inter se plurimum variantibus illud de consilio fratrum

nostrorum providimus eligendum, secundum quod vidimus ipsam vicesimam distribuendam utilius, et tam ab hiis qui conferent quam ab illis quibus fuerit distributa materiam suspitionis, et murmuris melius amputandam'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 381.

13 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 81r: 'ut videlicet vicesima cuiusque diocesis redacta fideliter in pecuniam sub certo numero comprehendendo, in autenticorum virorum, et presertim illorum qui eam collegerint testimonialibus litteris et nobis etiam explicando ultra mare portetur, per quatuor vel quinque seu plures viros prudentes clericos et laicos crucesignatos illius civitatis et diocesis, qui note fidei discretionis et opinionis existant, quorum unus sit episcopus loci, siquidem crucesignatus extiterit'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 381.

14 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 81r: 'per manus ipsorum de conscientia tamen cardinalis qui fuerit ibi legatus distribuatur fideliter et discrete, crucesignatis egentibus et utilibus negotio Terre Sancte ac presertim de illa diocesi ubi vicesima illa collecta fuerit oriundis, iidemque distributores, ipsi legato et magistris Hospitalis et Templi reddant diligentissime rationem, per quam redactam inscriptis appareat evidenter pecuniam quam ut premissum est sub testimonialibus litteris secum attulerint esse crucesignatis, fideliter et utiliter distributam'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 381.

15 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 13r; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 101.

16 Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 13v; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 102.

17 A. Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1992), p. 116.

18 Lunt, *Revenues*, i, p. 51.

19 I. de la Torre, 'The London and Paris Temples: A Comparative Analysis of their Financial Services for the Kings during the Thirteenth Century', in *MO* 4, p. 122.

20 J. Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 259.

21 Cazel, 'Financing the Crusades', p. 130.

22 L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur les opérations financières des Templiers* (Paris, 1889; repr. Geneva, 1975), pp. 61–3.

23 Ibid., p. 63.

24 De la Torre, 'London and Paris Temples', p. 122.

25 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 80r: 'Intellecto ex litteris vestris quod diligenter mandatum apostolicum exequentes duorum preteritorum annorum vicesimam et pecuniam truncorum ac pro redemptione votorum exhibitam per metropolitanos in provinciis suis et eorum suffraganeos ad mandatum vestrum collectas ad domum militie Templi Parisius deferri fecistis, et assignata medietate ipsarum karissimo in Christo filio nostro Philippo regi Francorum illustri iuxta mandati nostri tenorem, reliquam pro Terre Sancte subsidio reservatam in domo reposuistis predicta.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 1998.

26 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 103v: 'Presentium tibi auctoritate, mandamus quatinus pecuniam de vicesima iam collectam sub aliquorum testimonio prelatorum prout tibi cuius discretioni committimus expedire videbitur in subsidium Terre Sancte transmittas venerabili fratri nostro Albanensi episcopo apostolice sedis legato sicut eidem scribimus sub aliquorum prelatorum testimonio assignandam.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2114.

27 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 5v: 'Ceterum discretioni tue per apostolica scripta firmiter precipiendo mandamus quatinus nichil transmittas decetero de vicesima, vel de aliis ad nos spectantibus, quicquid super talibus tibi hactenus mandaverimus, nisi de novo a nobis super hoc mandatum reciperes speciale.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2600.

28 For instance J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274* (Woodbridge, 2005) focuses on the Order's landed wealth and not its banking functions.

29 On selective registration see J. E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 71.

30 P. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 6–7, 9.

31 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 194v: 'fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta in virtute obediente districte precipiendo, mandamus quatinus diligenter inquirens quantum ab ecclesiis tue diocesis et a singulis suffraganeis tuis receperit pro vicesima, et quot et qualia ecclesiastica beneficia in diocesi vel provincia tua noviter est adeptus, necnon de aliis gestis suis presertim de quibus ecclesie Romane aliquam notam impincxit, ea omnia plene ac plane nobis tuis litteris intimare procures'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2515.

32 Reg. Vat. 10, fols 194v–195r; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2516.

33 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 195: 'Ideoque fraternitati tue per apostolica scriptas mandamus quatinus nobis quod ab eis [the master of the Paris Hospitallers] receperis tuis litteris studeas intimare.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2517.

34 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 195v: 'per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes quatinus sex milia, vel quinque milia, aut ad minus quatuor milia marcharum de vicesima quam dilectus filius Pandulphus Norwicensi electus camerarius noster apostolice sedis legatus penes vos deponi mandavit'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2519.

35 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 195v: 'aut si forte illa tanta non est, de alia pecunia nostra in domo vestra deposita vel si forsan utraque ad perficiendum aliquem, de numeris predictis non sufficit de alia pecunia undecumque ipsam habere potestis, quia nos vobis reddi faciemus'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2519.

36 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 193v: 'Ceterum quia subventione presertim pecunie indiget Terra Sancta, volumus et per apostolica tibi scripta mandamus quatinus venerabili fratri nostro Pelagio Albanensi episcopo apostolice sedis legato sex milia marcarum argenti de Anglie vicesima que si ad hoc non sufficit, de alia que ad nos pertinet pecunia per eos per quos dirigitur tue domus subsidium sine mora transmittas.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2513.

37 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 8v: 'Preterea cum nuper quicquid habuimus in camera miserimus in subsidium Terre Sancte propter quod multis tenemur debitis obligati, denarium beati Petri et censum ecclesie Romane debitum ac vicesimam colligi facias diligenter, et efferri de Anglia, ac ipsa omnia tui sigilli munimine sicut expedire videris consignata Parisius penes Templarios et Hospitalarios caute deponere studeas et prudenter, quantitatem omnium singillatim tuis nobis litteris rescripturus.'; Pressutti, *Regesta*, no. 2620.

38 H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 3 vols, 3rd edn (Berlin, 1958–60), i, p. 121; P. Rabikauskas, *Diplomatica pontificia,* 6th edn (Rome, 1998), p. 82.

7 Between Jaffa and Jerusalem

A few remarks on the defence of the southern border of the kingdom of Jerusalem during the years 1229–1244

Karol Polejowski

> [A]nd know that we not only restored [to the Christians] the Holy City, but also the road that leads from here up to the shores of the sea and the castle of Jaffa, so the pilgrims will have a free route to the Holy Sepulchre and safe return from there.[1]

These are words from a letter written by Emperor Frederick II in March 1229 to the counts and barons of his empire, announcing the treaty he had signed in Jaffa a few weeks prior with the Sultan of Egypt, Al-Kamil. Under the terms of this treaty the following places were also returned to the Franks: Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the villages and farms located on both sides of the road leading from Jerusalem to Jaffa. The emperor was obliged to defend the restored lands and to ensure the free and secure access of Muslims to the Holy City.[2] Although the treaty was not broken by either the king of Jerusalem nor the sultan of Egypt, the pilgrim routes which led from Acre, through the maritime cities of Haifa, Caesarea, Arsuf and Jaffa, and from there inland through Ramla, Lydda and Latrun to Jerusalem, were frequently attacked by local Muslim forces, for example those operating out of Kerak.[3] Especially vulnerable was the route from Caesarea to Jaffa and from there to Jerusalem – more than 120 km of open space, protected only by the Templars operating from Atlith and Caesarea and Frankish forces from Jaffa.

In 1229 Jaffa, like Jerusalem, was virtually defenceless, which led Frederick II to begin fortification works immediately after the signing of the peace treaty.[4] This was a logical decision, as from this moment the city was to become the most important fortress on the southern flank of the kingdom and one of the most important stop-off points for pilgrims heading to Jerusalem. Frederick was well aware of this, because he not only started the fortification works, but also established a royal administration, appointing a bailiff here as in Jerusalem.[5] We know that he rebuilt the citadel in Jaffa, and perhaps part of the city walls. A testimony to the emperor's works can be found in an inscription written in Arabic, which was built into the wall, probably next to the one of the city's gates.[6] At that time the Templars and Hospitallers probably did not take part in these actions. For them Frederick II was an excommunicated crusader.

If we trust the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, then in 1230 the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerald of Lausanne, financed the construction of two towers located in the southern part of Jaffa on the road to Ascalon.[7] Jean of Joinville wrote about one of these towers when he described the deeds of Count Walter IV of Brienne, governor of the city.[8] The most probable scenario is that Walter had occupied the 'Tower of the Patriarch' in Jaffa after the death of Gerald in 1238,[9] and before the arrival of the new Patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, and so after 15 May 1240, but before 11 September 1244.[10] When the new patriarch came to the Holy Land, he demanded the restitution of the tower to his ownership, but his request was denied by Walter. It was as a consequence of this that the patriarch eventually excommunicated him.[11] It is very likely that Walter's attitude was motivated solely by his military obligations in Jaffa, which involved the defence of the pilgrim route to Jerusalem, rather than, for example, by the political tensions between the two of them.

In any case, in the early 1230s Jaffa was fortified, first by Frederick II, then by Patriarch Gerald. For an unspecified time the city was then ruled by an imperial governor. Perhaps during this time the convent of the Hospitallers, which is mentioned in a document dating to 1240, was established at Jaffa.[12] The Hospitallers had been able to return to the city on the basis of their earlier presence there, which is confirmed for the first half of the 1190s.[13] However, during the period under discussion here, that is the 1230s, nothing is known about the role of the Hospitallers in military activities relating to the defence of the pilgrim route to Jerusalem. The surviving sources only talk of the actions of the Templars from Atlith and of the lords of the baronies located to the south of Acre, especially Jaffa, but also Caesarea and Arsuf.

For the first half of the 1230s we are unable to say anything definite about the situation on the southern borders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The local aristocracy and military orders were involved in the civil war against Richard Filangieri, who captured Tyre and ruled in Jerusalem. We do not know whether he ever held Jaffa. The situation changed in the mid-1230s when the Lusignans defeated the imperial forces of Frederick II on Cyprus and the government in Acre was finally overthrown by moderates such as Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard, and, most important for this chapter, when Walter IV of Brienne arrived in the Holy Land and took Jaffa. These events took place between 1233 and 1235.

Although the course of the conflicts in Cyprus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem during 1231–1235 are well known, the circumstances in which Walter of Brienne appeared in the Holy Land are still not clear. In his study of John of Brienne (the Latin emperor of Constantinople and later king of Jerusalem) Guy Perry expresses his conviction that in the summer of 1231 John's nephew Walter IV of Brienne did not accompany his uncle to Constantinople but instead travelled directly to the Holy Land from France, where he arrived in around 1233.[14] The matter seems, however, to be more complicated than that. There can be no doubt that in the years 1223–1231 the relationship between John and Walter was good, which is confirmed by the surviving sources. Walter was at the side of his uncle during the most important moments of his stay in Western Europe, namely in Italy in 1225/1226 and 1228/1229, and in France in 1229–1231, as is correctly stated by Perry.[15] But

a problem arises when we attempt to establish a firm date for the departure of Walter from France and his arrival in the Holy Land. The date of his departure from France is, in my opinion, quite obvious: the last known documents issued by Walter in Champagne are dated to June 1231.[16] A Hospitaller document issued by Walter's relative Erard of Ramerupt (Brienne) at around the same time clearly states that the Count of Brienne was about to depart overseas.[17] And the fact that in 1232 Walter's close relative Erard II of Chacenay is recorded as governor of the county of Brienne suggests that by then Walter had already departed.[18] It therefore follows that Walter had left France by the turn of June and July 1231 at the latest, which corresponds with the departure of John of Brienne for Constantinople. John and the crusaders accompanying him left Venice on 1 August 1231, as is clear from an agreement concluded with the Venetians.[19] Walter accompanied his uncle during the latter's trip to Constantinople, where he remained for some time. How long did Walter stay in the city? The answer to this question is crucial, because it will enable us to identify the precise moment of his arrival in the Holy Land. The first reliable piece of information attesting the presence of Walter in Acre dates to October 1235, when he issued a document for the Hospital of Saint John in the city.[20]

Some historians are inclined to believe that Walter was already present in the Latin East in 1233, combining separate references to him in the chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines and in the *Estoire de Eracles*. In both sources, however, the information concerning Walter and his marriage with Maria of Lusignan, sister of King Henry of Cyprus, appears tangentially to the main narrative concerning a change in the occupancy of the throne of Antioch in 1233, and of the expedition of the Hospitallers against the emir of Hama.[21] Then again, in other sources the information concerning the expedition against the Muslim fortress of Bar'in (Montferrand), belonging to the emirate of Hama, is dated to 1235 or 1236.[22] So, if Walter had married Marie of Lusignan in the same year that the expedition against Bar'in took place, it is likely that this would have been in 1235 or 1236 and that the wedding took place in the autumn of 1235. Probably it was only a few months earlier than this that Walter had arrived in the Holy Land from Constantinople, which was then under siege from the united forces of the Byzantine emperor of Nicaea and the Bulgarians. The situation in the city was so grave that Walter's uncle, the Latin emperor John of Brienne, sent away three of his sons and his young son-in-law, Baldwin II of Courtenay, to France.[23] It is possible that Walter also had left Constantinople at this time and had gone to Acre in order to marry Marie of Lusignan.

Marie was the eldest daughter of King Hugh of Cyprus, who had died in 1218, and Queen Alice of Jerusalem, the daughter of the ruler of Jerusalem, Henry II of Champagne. Alice was absent from the kingdom, settling a dispute over her claim to the county of Champagne from 1232 until the second half of 1235.[24] It is difficult to imagine that such a momentous act as the wedding of the Queen's eldest daughter took place during her absence. All these circumstances indicate, in my opinion, that Walter of Brienne appeared in the Holy Land in 1235, at which point he married Marie of Lusignan. This was also the year in which he took part in the expedition against Bar'in, alongside John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, and the

Hospitallers. It was at this very time that he became Alice's son-in-law and took over the lordship of Jaffa, which was her dowry.[25]

It seems that this was the key moment in the stabilization of the military situation in the southern region of the kingdom, meaning the region between Caesarea, Jaffa and Jerusalem. The sources leave us in no doubt that Walter of Brienne, residing in Jaffa from 1235 onwards, was a key figure in the fight against the Muslims and in the protection of pilgrims. Because the region to the south of Acre was an area which was under the influence of the Templars, who held Atlith, the Templars became the closest allies of the Count of Brienne. Cooperation between Walter and the Templars is confirmed for the year 1237, when Walter IV of Brienne allegedly advised the Templars against an expedition against Muslims operating to the south of Atlith. According to the French chronicler Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, the Templars ignored Walter's warnings and were as a consequence soundly defeated by the enemy, with only the grand master and nine brothers escaping alive.[26] Alberic says nothing about the exact location of the Templars' defeat, but information in the *Annales de Terre Sainte* about a failed expedition against Trapesac (today's Terbezek Kalesi in Turkey), a castle lying to the north of Antioch, might be of relevance here.[27] It is probable that both sources are dealing with the different events, and we can guess that the Knights Templar were defeated twice in a short period of time (in 1237).

It is important to note that some historians are inclined to read this event and the attitude of Walter of Brienne as evidence for his reluctance to cooperate with, or even as hostility towards, the Templars, which was evident before and during the battle of Forbie.[28] This would be confirmed by the events of the years 1240–1244, when Walter of Brienne adopted a different position to that of the Templars regarding the negotiations with Egypt, relations with Damascus and during the battle of Forbie.[29] It is difficult to agree with this assessment. There is nothing in the sources to indicate that relations between Walter of Brienne and the Templars were hostile in 1230s. On the contrary, we know that before leaving France in 1231, Walter had authorized the sale of part of a forest to the Templars in Champagne.[30] In April of 1238, during his stay in Acre, he donated more lands in Champagne to the Templars, on which the Order built a new commandery.[31] This behaviour is, I think, surely a sign of friendship and not evidence of conflict.

Another confirmation of the close relationship between Walter and the Templars can be found in a letter of Pope Gregory IX of 9 March 1238, addressed to the master and brothers of the Order and to Walter of Brienne. The pope had heard rumours that the Saracens were using hideouts between Caesarea and Jaffa to waylay, kidnap, rob and murder pilgrims en route to the holy city. He therefore asked the Templars to intensify their efforts to protect pilgrims. In addition, Pope Gregory allowed Walter for a period of five years to collect from each pilgrim two *denarii* of Tours (*denier tournois*) for the purpose of improving the safety on the pilgrim route between Caesarea and Jaffa.[32] As this area was located exactly halfway between Acre and Jerusalem, it seems likely that the Templars in charge of guarding this road were stationed at Caesarea or Jaffa, which were about 60km apart. This assumption is supported by the fact that in the 1230s both Jaffa and

Caesarea were fortified and therefore could be used as bases for military operations. Jaffa had been fortified by Frederick II, and in 1217 or 1218 John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, together with the patriarch of Jerusalem, the duke of Austria and the Hospitallers, had rebuilt the castle of Caesarea.[33] In the 1230s the lord of Caesarea was John, son of Walter of Brisebarre and Margaret of Ibelin. But, as Steven Tibble has shown, during this period the lordship of Caesarea was mostly in the hands of ecclesiastical institutions, of which the most powerful were the Knights Templar, who may have controlled as much as one quarter of its territory.[34] However, this does not exclude the role of the lord of Caesarea, who still played an important part in the defence of the southern regions of the kingdom.

Little is known about the situation of Arsuf, another important point on the pilgrim route. We know that this city remained in the possession of the Ibelin family and, if we trust the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, the city was fortified no sooner than in 1241, by John of Ibelin, a son of John, lord of Beirut.[35] But John of Arsuf was also a member of the kingdom's aristocracy. The barons were deeply interested in the situation in the south, a fact which is particularly evident during the crusades in the years 1239–1241. Before 1239, however, the main protector of pilgrims from among the lords of the kingdom remained Walter of Brienne and his allies, the Knights Templar. This situation changed somewhat in the years 1239–1244, first as a result of the crusades of Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, and after 1241 as a result of changes in Christian and Muslim policy.

In autumn 1238 it was clear that in the next year, when the treaty of Jaffa was due to expire, a new crusade led by Count Thibaud of Champagne would come to the Holy Land. During preparations for the crusade, Thibaut and other crusaders tried to get some information as to the possible directions in which the military action would take place. The answer they received from the Franks of Outremer is well known, but it is worth paying attention to the group of lay barons who appear in the document which contains it. They are, in order of appearance: Walter of Brienne; Odo of Montbéliard, constable of the Kingdom; Balian of Sidon; and John of Caesarea.[36] The first and last named would have been the persons most interested in the issue of ensuring peace in the south, whether as a result of war with Egypt or as a result of the ensuing peace negotiations. We know that Walter IV of Brienne, along with the grand commander of the Templars and the master of the Teutonic Knights, took part in the meeting at Acre, after the arrival of the French crusaders, and participated in the discussions which led to the decision to march south to Ascalon.[37] We also know that the crusaders stopped in Atlith and in Jaffa. Then came the expedition of Henry of Bar-le-Duc to Gaza, in which Walter was also involved, and if we accept the information from *Eracles*, among the lords of Outremer were also John of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf, Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard. Interestingly *Eracles* also mentions the Templars and Hospitallers.[38]

Probably the defeat at Gaza led to a split among the crusaders, the military orders and the barons of Outremer. We do not know what attitude was held by some Frankish barons in the face of the alliance with Damascus which was directed against Egypt, but we know that this solution was supported by the Templars.[39] However, the attitude of Walter IV of Brienne was probably different. When, in 1241, Richard of

Cornwall negotiated the peace with the sultan of Egypt, he was supported not only by Walter, but also by the master of the Hospitallers and the duke of Burgundy.[40] For Walter, who was responsible for the defence of Jaffa and the southern boundaries of the kingdom, and who was faced with the impossible task of resisting Egypt, the only solution left was a peace treaty. It is probable that at this point a conflict in the political interests of Walter and the Templars could have arisen.

After 1241, however, the activities of Richard of Cornwall and the Knights Templar brought a change for the better to the kingdom. The Christians recovered Jerusalem and Ascalon and the lands to the west of the Jordan river. The border of the kingdom was extended to Ascalon, and some 50km to the south. Richard handed over Ascalon to imperial administration, however, and in 1243 Frederick II gave the city to the Hospitallers.[41] This was a new factor, which strengthened the position of the Franks against the Muslims. At the end of 1243, the grand master of the Knights Templar, Armand of Perigord, wrote about the great successes of the Christians and their hopes for the future. The Order was ready to build a strong castle near Toron (Al-Atrun), which would ultimately protect the road between Jaffa and Jerusalem and 'all this land will be safe forever'.[42] Thus, the long-term efforts of the Templars and Walter of Brienne were successful and the pilgrim route to Jerusalem would be safer than ever before.

As we know, all these efforts and achievements were lost between July and October 1244, when the Khoresmians, in alliance with Egypt, took Jerusalem and defeated the Latin-Muslim army at Forbie.[43] As a result of the battle Walter IV of Brienne was taken prisoner; he was killed soon after in Egypt. After the fall of Jerusalem it was no longer possible to maintain a system of defence for the southern boundaries of the kingdom. In 1247, the Egyptians captured Ascalon and for the next twenty years Jaffa was to become once again the southernmost fortress of the Franks. After the death of Queen Alice of Jerusalem (1246), Henry the king of Cyprus gave the county of Jaffa to John of Ibelin, the son of Philip of Ibelin and Alice de Montbéliard.

Hans Eberhard Mayer once argued that in *c*.1235, the only baron in the Kingdom of Jerusalem who could compete with John of Ibelin was Walter IV of Brienne.[44] We should add, however, that Walter never took part in this rivalry, and that he was practically absent from the warring factions in the Holy Land after the year 1231. I believe this to be a result of the almost total engagement of his energies in the defence of the southern borders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Any opinion on his political activities in Outremer we would have to be built on assumptions. As Joinville wrote, Walter was a deeply religious man, bold and brave, good to his knights, loving to his wife and successful in his defence of Jaffa for many years against the Muslims.[45]

Notes

1 J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi* (Paris, 1852), III, p. 96.
2 Ibid., pp. 99–102 (letter of Herman of Salza, Master of the Teutonic Order, Jaffa, March 1229), pp. 102–10 (letter of Gerald, Patriarch of Jerusalem to Pope Gregory IX, Acre, March 1229).

3 For example see the map illustrating the route of Wilbrand of Oldenburg's journey from Acre to Jerusalem (1211–1212), in: D. Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus and the Holy Land (1211–1212): A New Edition', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), 110.

4 R. Röhricht and G. Raynaud, ed., *Annales de Terre Sainte, 1095–1291, AOL*, 2 (1884), p. 438: '*Et l'an après* [1229] *Fredric l'empereur fist fermer Jaffe'.* See also the new edition of the *Annales de Terre Sainte,* ed. P. W. Edbury, in *In laudem Hierosolymitani. Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar,* ed. I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. Riley-Smith (Farnham, 2007), pp. 145–61.

5 H. E. Mayer, ed., *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem,* Old French texts prepared by J. Richard, vol. 3 (Hannover, 2010), no. 670, pp. 1135–7 (Acre, April 1229), no. 672, p. 1138. See also D. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Farnham, 2012), p. 213.

6 M. Sharon and A. Schrager, 'Frederick II's Arabic Inscription from Jaffa (1229)', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), 139–58.

7 *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 438: '*et l'an après* [1230] *fist faire le patriarche Girard les deus tours de Jaffe devers Escalonne*'.

8 Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1868), p. 189.

9 *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 439: '*et l'an après* [1238] *morut le patriarche Geraut*'.

10 *RRH*, no. 1123; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 441: '*et en cel an* [1244] *vint le patriarche Robers*'.

11 *RRH*, no. 1123.

12 Ibid., no. 1097: '*Geraudus, praeceptor Hospitalis Joppensis*'.

13 Ibid., no. 709 (January 1193).

14 G. Perry, *John of Brienne. King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople*, *c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 153.

15 Ibid., pp. 146–8, 153.

16 H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, 'Catalogue d'actes des comtes de Brienne, 950–1356', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 33 (1872) [hereafter CAB], nos. 165–7.

17 *CH*, no. 1988. Walter of Brienne is called by Erard of Ramerupt '*karissimus dominus meus et cognatus*'.

18 C. Lalore, *Les sires et les barons de Chacenay* (Troyes, 1885), no. 142: '*ego gerens vices ipsius comitis in comitatu Brene*'.

19 B. Hendrickx, *Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople: 1204–1272* (Thessaloniki, 1988), nos. 171–3, 177, 178.

20 *CH*, no. 2123 (see also ibid., no. 1985); K. Polejowski, 'The Counts of Brienne and the Military Orders in the Thirteenth Century', in *MO* 5, p. 290.

21 Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium, a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, 23 (Hanover, 1874), p. 933; *Eracles*, p. 403.

22 *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 439; G. Raynaud, ed., *Les Gestes des Chiprois. Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient au XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Geneva 1887), p. 117.

23 H. Gèraud, ed., *Chronique latine de Guilllaume de Nangis, de 1113 à 1300*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1843), pp. 187–8.

24 *Gestes de Chiprois*, pp. 112, 117; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 439; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, ed., *Catalogue des actes des comtes de Champagne depuis l'avènement de Thibaud III jusqu'à celui de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1863–66), nos. 2335, 2351, 2352.

25 For more information on the problem of Jaffa as a Lusignan lordship and the rights of the Brienne family for the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon, see: H. E. Mayer, 'Ibelin versus Ibelin: The Struggle for the Regency of Jerusalem 1253–1258', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 122 (1978), 25–57; P. W. Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's Title to the County of Jaffa and Ascalon', *English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), 115–33; H. E. Mayer, 'John of Jaffa, His Opponents and His Fiefs', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 128:2 (1984), 134–63, and P. W. Edbury, *John of Jaffa and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 79–83.

26 Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica Albrici', p. 942.
27 *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 439: '*En l'an M.CC et XXXVII furent desconfit li Templier à Trapesac*'.
28 M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 145: '*Walter of Brienne, Count of Jaffa, a past enemy of the Templars*'.
29 Ibid., pp. 138, 145.
30 K. Polejowski, 'Counts of Brienne', p. 290.
31 CAB, no. 171 (Acre, April 1238).
32 L. Auvray, ed., *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1907), nos. 4129, 4130.
33 *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 439; *Eracles*, p. 325.
34 S. Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 135, 151.
35 *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 440.
36 U. Durand and E. Martène, ed., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, tomus primus* (Paris, 1717), cols. 2012–13.
37 'Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin', ed. A. Beugnot and A. Langlois, *RHC Occ*, II, pp. 531–2.
38 *Eracles*, p. 414.
39 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 4, ed. H. Luard (London, 1877), pp. 64–5; *Gestes de Chiprois*, p. 122; *Eracles*, pp. 419–20.
40 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV, pp. 140–1.
41 In 1241 Richard of Cornwall established in Ascalon the imperial *bailli*, who was Walter of Pennepié and who held the parallel office of the imperial governor in Jerusalem. In 1243, Frederick II, and then his son Conrad, passed Ascalon to the Hospitallers. Frederick's will was formalized in April 1244 by the imperial representative in the Outremer, Thomas of Acerra. H. E. Mayer, *Urkunden*, III, no. 794; *Historia diplomatica*, VI:2, no. 11; *CH,* no. 2394; *Eracles*, p. 421; P. W. Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's Title', p. 126; H. E. Mayer, 'John of Jaffa', pp. 150–1; J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), p. 207.
42 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV, p. 290: '*Ad praesidium insuper et defensione terrae nostrae, quoddam castrum fortissimum, prope Jerusalem, supra Toronum, si probum hominum auxilium habere poterimus, proponius aedificare, per quod speratur tota terra posse facilius retineri et perpetuo contra hostes defendi'.* See also *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 440, for information that in 1242 the Templars with Geoffrey of Sargines and An-Nasir of Kerak defeated the Egyptian forces near Ascalon.
43 S. Lotan, 'The Battle of La Forbie (1244) and its Aftermath: Re-examination of the Military Orders Involvement in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in Mid-Thirteenth Century', *Ordines Militares: Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders*, 17 (2012), 53–67; I. Berkovich, 'The Battle of Forbie and the Second Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem', *The Journal of Military History*, 75 (2011), 9–44.
44 Mayer, 'Ibelin versus Ibelin', p. 27.
45 Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, p. 188.

8 Ritual and conflict in the Hospitaller church of St John in Acre

The architectural evidence

Vardit Shotten-Hallel

'*Statutum est quod omnes diebus dominicis fratres veniant ad processionem, illis exceptis qui erunt aliquo domus negocio occupati*'.[1]

This chapter describes an important building operation performed by the Order of St John at Acre before the year 1252. The series of events preceding this operation is beyond the scope of this short description. However, several episodes in the life of the Hospitallers at Acre are relevant to our discussion and will therefore be mentioned.

Because of the complexity of its compound, reconstructing the thirteenth-century layout of the Hospitallers' House at Acre and its church seems much like Ezekiel's vision of working in the Valley of Dry Bones. But adding flesh to the skeleton of the buildings, allegorical to reconstructing the structure, necessarily needs to take into account the spirit contributed by its religious content. In what follows, new archaeological finds are refracted through textual and visual documentation.[2] Considering several aspects of the Hospitallers' liturgy and rituals as described in the rule, statutes and customs of the Order proves insightful in that it contextualizes some of the uses of the new construction programme.

The house of the Hospital at Acre

The Hospitallers first settled in Acre in the twelfth century.[3] After the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, the Order moved its headquarters to Margat in the principality of Antioch, near the Syrian coast. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the Order had relocated its seat of government to Acre, the capital of the second Kingdom of Jerusalem. Throughout the thirteenth century, the Order continued to expand its presence in the city by means of land purchases, grants and privileges.[4] The Hospitallers' incessant building campaign is well traced in the archaeological remains of the Order's headquarters.

The architectural plan of the Hospitaller Church provides valuable information on the building's use and history. This is of importance when the structural parameters of the building are discussed. The layout of the Hospitaller headquarters in Acre therefore will be sketched along general lines only. The chapter will focus solely on those elements which aid the reconstruction of the Church of St John.[5]

The Church of St John at Acre

The multi-phased construction sequence of the Church of St John was an important component in the evolution of the entire complex. The spiritual life of the Order revolved around this church, which also had a significant impact on the religious life and urban landscape of the entire city: the *palais des malades* comprised one of the principal destinations for the many pilgrims who passed through Acre on their way to visit the city's holy places and Jerusalem.[6]

Excavations conducted in the 1950s along the outer side of the Hospitaller compound's external walls revealed that because of its strategic location south of the main complex the Church of St John has a key role to play in any attempt to reconstruct the layout of the compound in Acre.[7] The church is therefore a pivotal point in the area, dictating as it did the movement of the brethren and public street traffic as well as access to the conventual buildings. The church was located south of the central courtyard (the area believed to have been the site of the refectory) and the large halls of the eastern and northern wings. These buildings were all located on the same level as the streets outside. Consequently, the Hospitallers had to find a way to bridge the gap between the compound and the church. They chose the most practical solution for the bridge, one that enabled their autonomy and their seclusion. This barely affected the church's inner space, although it is not implausible that the Hospitallers exploited the opportunity by adding features and elements to it.

The architectural plan of the church was implemented in several stages, resulting in a tri-apsidal *chevet* and a nave of four bays stretching to the east, thus conforming to the design of Frankish churches in the Levant.[8] The church's main entrance was located within the western façade. In addition, the remains of a (previously unknown) second entrance, located within the northern façade of the church, have also been identified.[9] This second entrance was elevated some 4m above street level and was therefore approximately at the same height as the western portal. The archaeological evidence confirming the existence of this entrance is unequivocal. It consists of two inter-related elements: a foundation for a threshold (measuring 2.4m in width. Figure 8.1a). The foundation was laid below the portal's threshold, which was presumably of the same size. It consisted of slabs of stone inserted at the same *unterkant* as the chamfered cornice that surrounded the building (Figure 8.1b) and was adjusted accordingly to receive the new portal. The second architectural element consists of two projecting corbels, positioned on the northern façade, which can be seen below the threshold, from the two sides of the supporting arch at the crypt level. These corbels were designed to support the half arch that probably extended *contra verse* from the external wall of the church to a structure in the space formed by the junction of two streets: one running west to east, which separated the compound from the church, and the other running from south to north. Opposite the church, to the east, a second wall doubled a previously existing one. This wall half blocked the gate, narrowing the passage considerably, yet left room for the public street (Figure 8.1c, d).

Figure 8.1 Archaeological evidence for the north entrance and the bridge:
a) Foundation for a threshold
b) Two projecting corbels
c) and d) Second wall doubled a previously existing one

Photographs © Y. Broydeh, A. Leitus, V. Shotten-Hallel

A clue to these arrangements can be found in a well-known engraving made by the Dutch traveller and artist Cornelis de Bruijn (*c*.1652–1727). De Bruijn documented the Hospital in 1682, after the building intervention caused by Fakhr al-Din.[10] Although his depiction of the building is far from accurate, it offers a view of the bridge from a particular important angle: the western periphery of the courtyard. Several elements can be identified, because they are still visible today. The engraving's main focus is on the grand staircase attached to the eastern façade of the eastern wing's great hall. On the far right side of the engraving one can see the remains of the three-storey tower that constituted the south-eastern corner of the compound. Its south-eastern façades formed the north-western corner of the junction of three streets: a street running to the east, a street from the direction of the west, and a street leading north. Beyond the tower, in the north-eastern corner, the engraving shows a small extension delineated by a low parapet. In my view, this extension refers to the bridge extending beyond the outline of the great hall and leading to the church on the southern side (Figure 8.2).[11]

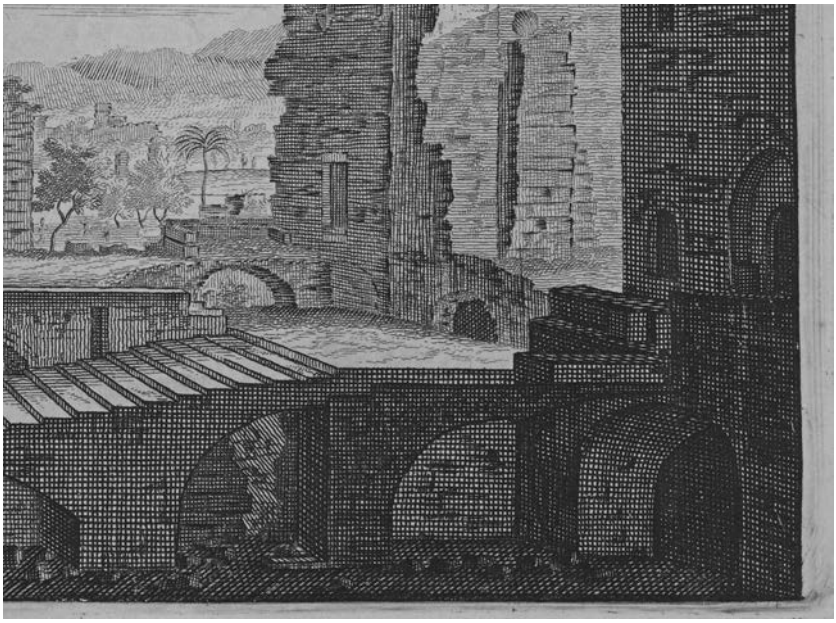

Figure 8.2 A detail from Cornelis de Bruijn's illustration of the Hospitaller Compound, Acre, showing the south-eastern corner of the courtyard and the bridge (in the background). Cornelis de Bruijn, Reizen . . . door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia, de eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c., mitsgaders de voornaamste steden van Ægypten, Syrien en Palestina (Delft, 1698), plate 165.

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The new arrangements affecting the public streets

Confirmation of the existence of the bridge can be found in a charter dating from July 1252 in which the landmark and its impact on traffic in the city are clearly acknowledged. In the document the king of Cyprus, Henry I of Lusignan, authorised the master of the Hospital, William of Châteauneuf (1241–1258)

> to make two gates, for the benefit of the aforesaid House of the Hospital, in the street *below the vault that belongs to the same House*; which street is between the Hospital of the Sick and the church of St John on the one side; and on the other side is the Grand Manor of the brothers of the above-mentioned House.
>
> They should keep the two gates open in such a way that the course of the street before the vault shall remain common [or: accessible] *to all people to come and go as they used to do in the past*.[12]

The author of this document, which was signed in the presence of local nobles in Acre, was no doubt familiar with the Hospitallers' new construction. He expressed

serious concern about the consequences of these new arrangements for the public's right of way, which was surely affected by the new bridge, because the construction resulted in the narrowing of the passageway to those arriving from the north as well as the street itself. The term *vault* may refer to the bridge connecting the compound and the Church of St John, which when seen from the ground level formed a vaulted structure. The exposed passageway eliminated the protective effect of the massive external walls of the Hospitallers' compound. It is therefore likely that the Hospitallers were given permission to hold the keys to the two gates to allow them to control traffic through the passage and thus prevent any break unauthorized access to the compound and the Church of St John from the bridge.[13]

Setting the scene for the connection of the house and the church of St John via a bridge

The need to segregate the brothers from the town was probably first felt in Acre. Living conditions in Jerusalem and Margat were very different from those in Acre. In twelfth-century Jerusalem, the Hospitallers had lived in an enclosed compound with free access to their sacred spaces. Margat was an enclosed castle, surrounded by massive walls, which accommodated all the Order's conventual necessities within its walls. At Acre, however, the Order's buildings were dispersed throughout the city, with the church practically being situated outside the convent. The Hospitallers could not risk a situation similar to that documented in 1242 when the Templars had besieged them in their own house and forbade their exit,[14] a situation that was worsened by the aggressive behaviour of the locals.[15]

The discovery of the second entrance raises two questions: Why was it built? And which of the two entrances did the Hospitaller brethren use? The principal entrance to the church was from the public street to the west. A staircase from street level led to a platform from which the pilgrims and locals could enter the building. The narthex was designed as two rooms situated to the north and south of the entrance. In the south-western room, the remains of a large round structure were found. Very likely they constitute the only remains of a baptismal font. It is possible that the church also had a second font. Although at present there is no archaeological evidence to support this, a description included in the *Usances* implies its existence:

> #124: 'How and when the brethren should make genuflexions. – First, when the brothers enter the church, they should sign their hearts with the sign of the cross, take of the holy water, kneel down in their places, and say at least one Paternoster.'[16]

This regulation describes a procedure practiced by the brethren when entering the church. But it remains unclear from *where* they took the holy water. Was it from the baptismal font located in the narthex, a second font or basin near the altars or some other installation behind them?[17] The regulation alone does not explain which of the two entrances was used by the brethren, the principal entrance or the northern one.

Rituals

One way of identifying the purpose of the north entrance and its use by the brethren is by tracing the liturgical processions carried out in the Hospitaller compound. If the brethren used the principal entrance at the western end, then this would require them to exit the complex and walk along the streets of the city. Alternatively, they could have exited through a secure opening in the hall situated behind an enclosing wall next to the gate. If this was the case, then their route would have been a very short but inconvenient one: the southern halls of the complex were interconnected by openings of very modest size, which would have forced the brethren to walk through spaces dedicated to a variety of mundane functions, including the refectory and kitchen, before crossing a narrow street and ascending a staircase to the west portal leading into the church. Clearly the route via the private entrance in the northern façade was the more practical and sensible one: from the courtyard, the brethren could have ascended the grand staircase (as shown by De Bruijn), walked on the roof of the great hall, turned eastward on top of the vaulted street to the east of the south-eastern tower and crossed the bridge above the street directly into the church (Figure 8.3). Having entered the church from this direction, the

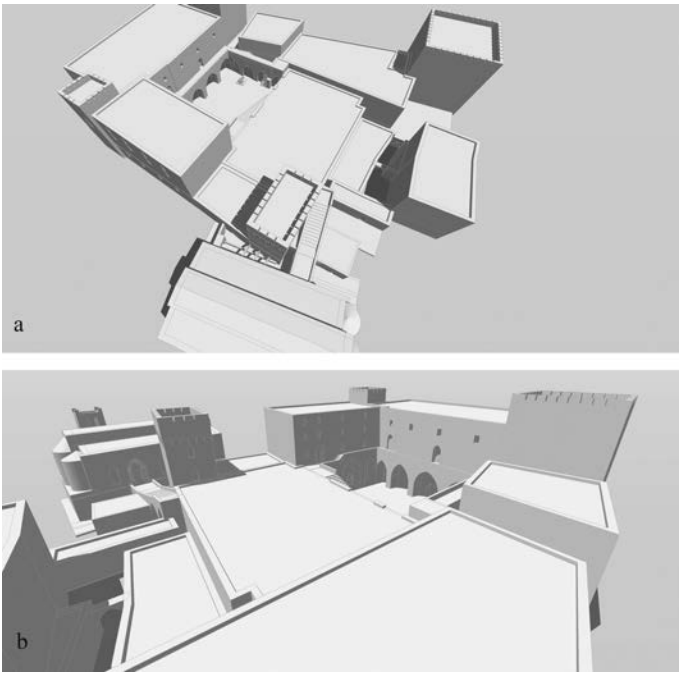

Figure 8.3 3D model view of the bridge leading to the northern entrance to the church of St John:
a) The bridge leading to the northern entrance, view from SE
b) Access to the bridge from the terrace, view from N. 3d model

Photographs © E. Mordohovich, V. Shotten-Hallel

brethren would have been facing the chancel, which was located in the fourth bay of the nave. At this point they could have used the holy water near the entrance (the area of the north-eastern apse), circled the area near the apse and entered the chancel area, which measured *c*.42sqm.[18]

The Hospitallers, like the Templars in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, followed the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.[19] The Rules and Statutes regulated the calendar for the daily, weekly and annual services of the Order's various houses. Two of the Hospitallers' liturgical rites performed at Acre are of particular relevance for this discussion: the ritual for burial of the dead and the ritual for processions.[20]

Burial of deceased brethren

Burial rights were granted to the Hospitallers before the year 1200, when they were confirmed by Bishop Theobald of Acre.[21] Members of comital families and grand masters of the Order were buried in the conventual church. When Count Guigues III of Forez died in Acre in 1215, he was buried in the Church of St John.[22] During the stay of King Louis IX of France in Acre the bones of Count Walter of Brienne were returned to the city together with all the knights who had been released from captivity in Egypt. Walter's remains were buried in the Hospitaller church with the appropriate ceremony.[23] The clearance of the church's crypt in more recent times has led to the discovery of several tomb inscriptions, among them the epitaph of Grand Master Peter of Vieille Bride (1240–1241).[24]

Usance #127 specifies the procedure for burials of deceased brethren, which varied according to the time of death. Although the terminology varies, the described procedures all seem to relate to the conventual church in Acre.[25] The deceased brother was carried from his deathbed to the church, where prayers would be said. Very likely this procedure was not followed during the six months in 1242 when the Hospitallers were besieged within their house and deprived of the right and opportunity to bury the dead.[26] As previously noted, the Hospitallers' situation in Acre differed considerably from that in Jerusalem. This is evident from the statutes of 1177–1181, where it is stated that in Jerusalem deceased brothers were carried to the church very soon after their death (*Corpora fratrum defunctorum vigilentur in ecclesia*).[27] The lack of further rubrics suggests that this was the only prescribed way for dealing with deceased brethren. Once in the church, the body was surrounded with candles and clerics would chant psalms for the soul of the deceased.[28]

At Acre, the regulations for burial were different (and also more detailed), probably because the brethren's dormitories were located at a considerable distance (some 800m) from the compound. According to the *Usances*, if a brother died at night, his body had to be carried to the church before Prime for Mass, the Hours and the Vigils,[29] and if he died after Prime, his body had to be carried to church in time for the Vigils of the Dead. The body remained in the church until after prayers and Vespers; then it was carried to the cemetery. In the event of a brother dying after Vespers (but before Compline), his body was to be carried first to the hospital (*Palais des Malades*) and on the next day from there to the church for Mass, the Hours and Vigils.[30]

Procession

The Sunday processions, which took place inside the Hospitaller compound, were first mentioned in the rule of Master Raymond of Puy (1120–1160), which specified the singing of the Epistle and Gospel and the use of the holy water during procession.[31] The chapter general of 1177 makes no reference to the procession, but it does deal with burial of pilgrims and other Christians.[32] The statutes of Grand Master Roger de Moulins (1177–1187) also makes no reference to these procession rituals.[33] The documents included in Cod. Vat. Lat. 4852, however, do mention processions in considerable detail.[34] Dating from the 1180s, they cover the medical care, diet and other necessities of the patients in the *Palais des Malades* in Jerusalem, and mention the brethren's processions on four occasions.[35]

Processions as indicated in Cod.Vat. Lat. 4852

Date	*Time*	*Stations*	*Participants (by order)*
Ash Wednesday		Procession: Around the patients. Halt in front of the altar.	• Prior • Clerks • Brothers • Lay people
Sunday	When the (communion) wine is administrated	Procession: Comes to the patients and goes around them and then stops in front of the altar . . . and the procession returns to the church.	
All year long	Night	Procession: Goes around the patients.	• Karavannier • One brother: the patients' boutellier • One brother who says prayers • The Hospitaller • The prior, chaplains, clerks • Commander • Other brothers • Serjeants
Feast days	Vigil of St Laurence Vigil of Our Lady Vigil of St Bartholomew Vigil of Pentecost Vigil of All Saints	Solemn procession	

Of the six chapters general (1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1268 and 1270) confirmed by Master Hugh Revel (1258–1277),[36] only the first and the last refer to processions or to the manners of chanting grace. The first reference relates to the Sunday procession and states that:

> Every Sunday the brethren, who shall not be occupied in any duty of the House, shall come to the procession.[37]

The last reference relates to the brethren when going to chant grace:

> *Item,* it was ordained that when the brethren go to chant grace, they should go in order two and two, and that they should wear the habit properly, and that the Marshall or another bailiff should be responsible for it.[38]

Usance #96 deals with the processions conducted in the House:

> In the House of the Hospital it is customary to go in procession on Candlemas Day, on whatever day the festival shall come, and on the day of the Ascension of Our Lord, and on the day of St John the Baptist, and on the day of Our Lady in August, and on all the Sundays: and on the other festivals we do not go in procession, unless the festival come on a Sunday.[39]

And usance #125 defines the procession in the Hospital:

> Every night after compline, the priest and the clerics should go in procession to the Palais de Malades, and the Seneschal of the Palais de Malades, or another brother, should say the prayer.[40]

According to the *Usances*, the nightly procession probably started in one of the conventual areas of the compound and then proceeded to the hospital. The description of the procession provides no information about the route taken.[41]

The private entrance then not only eliminated the need to exit the compound for the procession but also directed the members of the Hospitaller community directly to the location where the brothers gathered, segregated from the local population and the pilgrims, who may have been crowding the Church on various occasions.[42] It seems that the processions as practiced by the Hospitallers in their Jerusalem hospital involved spectators (in this case the patients) in a big way. Patients are recorded as playing an essential part in the liturgical ceremony, and therefore they are mentioned emphatically in the statutes.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how architectural arrangements of the Hospitaller Church of Acre found expression in textual sources. According to the archaeological finds and historical research, a likely *terminus post quem* for the construction of the

bridge is some time after the climax of the conflict between the Hospitallers, Templars and the local population in 1242; the *terminus ante quem* is some time in 1252, when Henry I of Lusignan formally consented that the Hospitallers were allowed to protect their compound and church.

To allow monks and nobles private access to sacred spaces was a long-established convention in medieval Europe. The Hospitaller compound at Acre was a private as well as public domain, which means that the Order's members were regularly confronted with the urban world outside their compound. This reality forced the Order's leadership to devise a solution that enabled the brothers to access the Order's most important sacred space, the Church of St John, freely and at all times. Furthermore, in the new socio-political climate of Acre keeping the brothers isolated from city life was essential. The urban and social climate of thirteenth-century Acre required a reconciliation between the Hospitallers' enclosed way of life with the reality that at certain times processions to the church would have to lead through the populated streets of the city. Apparently the changing social conditions and relations with the Templars forced the Hospitallers to reconsider their relationship with public spaces. The essential need to ensure the brothers' security and privacy led to providing a way into the church that separated sacred from secular and moderated the conflict between the two. This was accomplished with the construction of a bridge that led directly from the compound to the church. The bridge allowed the Hospitallers to exit from the top level of their Palace onto the surrounding terrace, walk onto the roof of the great Hall and from there cross a bridge over the streets into the Church of St John via the northern entrance directly in front of the chancel. This private passage and entrance into the church would have been used by the master of the Hospital, his bailiffs, and the Order's other brethren. The 5m-high bridge overlooked the city. It was undoubtedly a significant landmark, manifesting the Hospitallers hegemony in the case of occasional hostile exertions.

Notes

I wish to thank Yaacov Schaffer, Robert Kool, Sebastián Ernesto Salvadó, Benjamin Z. Kedar, Amnon Linder, Eliezer Stern and Edna Stern, Hanna Abu-Uqsa, Eran Mordohovich, Yael Shazar, Ori Abramson, Jeannine Horowitz, Isabelle Dotan, Cyril Aslanov and Karol Polejowski.

1 *CH*, III:43–54, no. 3039, Statutes of Hugh Revel, 1262 #27. Excavations in the nave level of the Church were conducted by E. Stern and H. Abu-Uqsa of the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1995, 2000, 2001 and 2003.
2 E. Stern. 'The Church of St John in Acre', *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 183 and *Crusades*, 4 (2005), 157.
3 *CH*, i:21, no. 20.
4 D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 4: *The Cities of Acre and Tyre with Addenda and Corrigenda to Volumes 1–3* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 82–7.
5 The location of the Hospital of the Poor remains unresolved. A general comparison of the area south of the Church of St John with the halls of the Muristan suggests that it composed a very small part of the actual hospital (a ward perhaps, measuring 25m by 27/36m, *c*.600m^2 for the net area). For the layout of the Hospitaller compound at Acre see: J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309* (London, 2012), pp. 77–8, 167–70; Riley-Smith, 'Further thoughts on the layout of the Hospital

in Acre', in *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. D. Coulon et al., 2 vols (Paris, 2004), ii, pp. 753–64; Pringle, *The Churches*, pp. 82–114; A. Kesten, *Old Acre Re-examination Report 1993* (The Old Acre Development Company, 1993), pp. 74–80, maps 21, 22.

6 D. Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The *Pardouns d'Acre*', in *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 110, 113.

7 Clearance works were conducted by Z. Goldmann, *Guide to the Crypt of St John, Acre* (1959).

8 Excluding the narthex. For a general description see: Pringle, *The Churches*, iv, pp. 94–100; V. Shotten-Hallel, 'Reconstructing the Hospitaller Church of St. John, Acre, with the help of Gravier d'Ortières' Drawing of 1685–87', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), 185–98.

9 In 2004 the Director of Conservation in Acre, the late Yossi Broydeh, insisted on opening a trench in the northern façade of the Church. This small scale excavation confirmed the existence of an additional entrance.

10 Filippo della SS. Trinita, *Viaggi orientali del reverendiss. P. Filippo della SS. à* (Rome, 1666), p. 73.

11 C. de Bruijn, *Reizen . . . door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia, de eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c., mitsgaders de voornaamste steden van Ægypten, Syrien en Palestina* (Delft, 1698), plate 165.

12 *CH*, ii:731–2, no. 2612. I am grateful to Jeannine Horowitz, Isabelle Dotan and to Cyril Aslanov for their valuable assistance with this translation.

13 Ibid: *et que de nuit les freres de la devant dite maison les puissent faire clore et avoir les clés en leur pouvoir*.

14 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. Richards Luard, vol. 4 (London, 1877), p. 256: *Et dum dierum illorum tempora revolverentur, Templarii in Terra Sancta Hospitalarios graviter infestantes obsidebant, ita a domo sua, quse est in Achon, obsessis non licebat mortuorum corpora efferre sepelienda*. Cf. R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 854.

15 Röhricht, *Geschichte*, p. 853 note 7: According to Matthew Paris, the Templars were aided by the local inhabitants and the Syrian barons.

16 *CH*, ii:547–61, no. 2213, #124 (*Usances*). Translation: E. J. King, *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099–1310* (New York, 1980), pp. 196–8.

17 See, for example, the church in the castle of Bethgibelin. A small water basin is installed in the northern apse of the church, connected with a pipe to what was probably an external water source. M. Cohen, personal communication. Site visits: 08/02/2010, 16/05/2010. More similarities can be drawn between the church in Acre and the church in Bethgibelin; notably the proximity to the refectory, the three-aisled nave divided into five bays, the tri-apsidal plan and the chamfered cornice surrounding the two churches.

18 This entrance was presumably in the western front of the chancel. The archaeological remains of the northern area of the chancel have revealed no entrance; the southern front was not excavated.

19 C. Dondi, 'Hospitaller Liturgical Manuscripts and Early Printed Books', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 14 (= t. 75) (2003), 225–56.

20 Because this chapter draws predominantly on archaeological finds and aims to produce a literary reconstruction of the architecture, the issue of chant repertoire is excluded from the discussion and the tables that follow.

21 *CH*, i:689–90, no. 113: April 1200 – Hospitallers rights on a parcel in the cemetery. For a discussion on burials in Jerusalem and in Acre see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, pp. 76–8.

22 *CH*, ii:168, no. 1431 (*Guigonis, comitis Forensis, die obitus sui, qui sepultus fuid apud Acon, in ecclesia Hospitalis*).

23 M. Natalis de Wailly, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Saint Louis, Credo et Lettre à Louis IX Jean sire de Joinville* (Paris, 1874), pp. 255–6: *Madame de Sayette, dis-je, prit les os du comte Gautier, et les fit ensevelir chez les Hospitaliers en Acre.*

24 Pringle, *The Churches*, iv, pp. 109–10.
25 CH, ii:547–6, no. 2213. Vocabulary includes *eglise*, *mostier* (2) and *glise* used randomly. For discussion of some of the different cases see C. Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony in Medieval Levant Decipherment and Interpretation MS Paris BnF copte 43* (Jerusalem, 2006), pp. 15–17.
26 See note 14.
27 The French version reads: 'Les cors des freres soient veilliez es iglises'
28 *CH*, i:345–7, no. 504. This regulation also includes procedures for dealing with the death of pilgrims (or other Christians) outside or inside the Hospital. The time frame relates to death after Vespers. The dead were brought to the church before Prime and buried after Mass.
29 Ibid., ii:547–61, no. 2213 #127.
30 Ibid.
31 '*encore en toz les dimenches l'epistre et l'evangile soient chantz en cele maison, et la maison soit arosée au la procession aveuc aigue benoite*.' Ibid., i: 62–8, no. 70 #16
32 Ibid., i:345–7, no. 504.
33 Ibid., i:425–9, no. 627.
34 K. Klement, *Gottes Gastgeber: Die Ritter des Hospitals von Jerusalem. Die vatikanische Handschrift Vat. Lat. 4852* (Books on demand, 2010), pp. 182–3. For the text and English translation see S. Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s', *Crusades*, 4 (2005), 21–37.
35 On Monday of Rogationtide processions came from all the town.
36 *CH*, iii:43–54, no. 3039 #27; 75–7, no. 3075; 91, no. 3104; 118–21, no. 31080; 186–8, no. 3317; 225–9, no. 3396.
37 Translation: King, *Rule*, p. 60.
38 *CH*, iv:225–9, no. 3396 #9; translation: King, *Rule*, pp. 75–6.
39 *CH*, ii:547–61, no. 2213 #96 (*Usances*); translation: King, *Rule*, p. 178.
40 *CH*, ii: 547–61, no. 2213 #125 (*Usances*); translation: King, *Rule*, pp. 198–9.
41 Discipline is also a concern in the statutes of William of Villaret (compiled from the chapters general held in Limassol in 1301 and 1302). Here, opposed to what is mentioned in the regulations formulated in Jerusalem, the officials walk last, to maintain order: '*Item*, it is decreed that when the brethren go in procession and to grace, in whatever part the procession may go, and also when the brethren go to grace in the minster, the Grand Commander and the Marshal or those who shall take their place, should be the last, to see that the brethren go in an orderly manner, just as they should do.' *CH*, iv:23–4 no. 4550 #4, Translation: King, *Rule,* pp. 110–11; *Item, it is decreed that when the brethren go to grace or in procession, that they should go in proper order and wear their mantles laced up, and should go in silence.*; *CH*, iv:36–41, no. 4574 #13; translation King, *Rule*, p. 124.
42 European nobility and high clergy customarily used private routes and entrances. Examples from the early Middle Ages can be found in the Imperial Palace in Aachen (*c*.790–814) of Charlemagne, where a 100m-long covered gallery connected the Palatine chapel with the *Aula Regia.* See M. Vale, 'Louis de Bruges', in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Barron and N. Saul (New York, 1995), p. 122 and note 32 on p. 130. In the twelfth century, the Count's Palace in Bruges was connected to the castle chapel of St Donatian, see J. Neuchterlein, 'Domesticity of Sacred Space in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands', in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. P. Spicer and S. Hamilton (Ashgate, 2005), pp. 68–9. The palace of the archbishop of Modena was connected to the cathedral via a portico and a gallery above the public road.

9 Hospitaller patronage and the mural cycle of the Church of the Resurrection at Abu-Ghosh (Emmaus) – a new reading

Gil Fishhof

Introduction

Whether there existed in the twelfth century an 'art of the Hospitaller Order' – that is, a distinctive iconography or a typical choice of subjects characterizing artworks made under Hospitaller patronage – is a very difficult question to answer, because so little has survived from the monumental art of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem. The frescos studied by Jaroslav Folda at the castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab did not provide conclusive results to that question,[1] and neither did the additional scenes recently discovered and deciphered by Balázs Major, Éva Galambos and the team of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission at Marqab.[2] For example, whereas among the subjects depicted at Marqab is the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, which might seem fitting for a Hospitaller cycle, other scenes are not specifically related to the Order, among them the tortures of the damned in hell and the Blessed being led to Paradise.

The aim of this chapter is to suggest additional ways and sources of reference for deciphering art under Hospitaller patronage, in offering a new interpretation of the mural cycle of the Church of the Resurrection at Abu-Ghosh. Interpreted as expressing Hospitaller concerns and ambitions in light of competition with the Knights Templar, the mural cycle at Abu-Ghosh thus offers an instructive example of the multilevel connections between conflict and culture.

The mural cycle of the Church of the Resurrection at Abu-Ghosh is the most extensive such cycle to survive from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and together with the column painting of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, it attests to the central place of monumental painting in the art of the Latin Kingdom. Scholarly research has been dedicated to various aspects of Crusader settlement in the area of Abu-Ghosh, including the tradition identifying Abu-Ghosh as the site of the biblical Emmaus,[3] Hospitaller presence in Abu-Ghosh and its vicinity,[4] the network of Crusader roads in the area,[5] as well as archaeological and architectural questions concerning construction of the church and the history of construction on the site.[6] However, central questions concerning the mural cycle of Abu-Ghosh have not yet been raised. The first and foremost of these is the possible impact of Hospitaller patronage on the cycle.

This chapter argues that the mural cycle expresses specific Hospitaller notions and concerns, and was part of the Order's attempts to increase its fame and importance in the Latin Kingdom around the 1170s.

The fresco cycle

The Crusader church of Abu-Ghosh is basilical in its ground plan and consists of a wide central nave with lower and narrower aisles. Both nave and aisles terminate in a round apse set within the thick eastern wall of the church, with the wall appearing straight from the outside. Whereas the western wall of the church is built directly over the natural rock, to the east the crusader walls are constructed over the walls of a Roman cistern built in the second century CE in order to capture the water from the spring flowing near the site. During Roman times access to the water was from the west through two corridors carved in the rock and containing flights of steps.[7] It was the size of the Roman cistern that to a large extent dictated the size of the Crusader church.[8]

Upon construction of the Crusader church the Roman cistern was converted to a crypt, with a large water basin cut into the rock at its centre. Traces of the foundations of an altar were found on the stone lid covering the basin.[9] The mural cycle adorns the three apses and the walls of the two easternmost bays, as well as the piers separating between the bays in the eastern part of the church. However, there is controversy as to whether the absence of paintings in the two westernmost bays of the church is the result of their disappearance over time or whether these two bays were never decorated to begin with; and if so, why not?[10] Until a recent restoration, in the early 2000s, preservation of the mural cycle had been extremely fragmented, partially because in the sixteenth century and again in the nineteenth, the church was used as a stable and Muslim villagers used it to store salt. Only after the church was returned to the French in 1873, and the arrival of French Benedictine monks in 1901, did cleaning and restoration begin. Central to these efforts was the French Count Amedée de Piellat, who copied the murals in an album containing 24 watercolour painting of the different scenes. Because the state of preservation of the paintings continued to deteriorate after Piellat had copied them, his watercolours were an important source for the early 2000s restoration.[11]

In the central apse is a depiction of the Anastasis (see Plate 1a), that is, the eastern, Byzantine iconography of Christ's resurrection. Christ is depicted striding forward with a confident powerful step, dressed in white, crushing the Gates of Hell and holding a monumental cross in his hand. To the right of Christ, and following established Byzantine iconography, are the figures of Adam, Eve, Abel and the prophet Isaiah, while to Christ's left are depicted King David, King Solomon and John the Baptist. In the niche of the southern apse are seated the three Patriarchs – Abraham, Isaac and Jacob – identified by Latin inscriptions, in the midst of lavish green vegetation with red flowers, characteristic of depictions of Paradise (see Plate 1b). The figure of Abraham is in the centre, with the two other patriarchs leaning towards him with their heads slightly bent. All three hold in their hands long strips of white cloth that embrace the souls of the blessed, thus cradled in the

bosom of the patriarchs. Two angles, one on either side of Abraham, carry another soul, presenting it to the Patriarch. The soul, in the guise of a tiny human figure, has its hands tied together and directed in a gesture of prayer or supplication towards Abraham, asking to be admitted among the Blessed in the Patriarch's bosom.[12]

The niche of the northern apse features the Deesis, a major theme in Byzantine iconography and a traditional part of Byzantine Last Judgment scenes, in which the Virgin and John the Baptist intercede to Jesus for the salvation of humankind. In the centre of the apse Christ is seated on an elaborate throne, decorated with a rich pattern of rosettes within elaborately decorated circular frames. His right hand is raised in blessing, his majestic image is frontal, addressing the viewer. To his left is John the Baptist, identified by his long unkempt hair, while to his right, Mary, her head covered, holds out her hands towards her son.

In his 1988 study, the late Gustav Kühnel sought to interpret the uniqueness of the Abu-Ghosh cycle by comparing the choice of scenes in Abu-Ghosh to additional eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine mural cycles. For him, the reason behind the choice of scenes in Abu-Ghosh was derived from the meaning of the Holy event that had taken place on the site, identified as Emmaus – the location of the appearance of the resurrected Christ to his two disciples. According to Kühnel, all the scenes chosen for the cycle, and for the three apses in particular, have in common an emphasis on the Resurrection of Christ and the salvation of the Righteous in the Last Judgment, which was made possible through Christ's death and Resurrection. Their combination here thus creates an iconography unique to the holy site, centred on the Resurrection. However, Kühnel's interpretation relates only to the meaning and commemoration of the holy event, and he does not explore the specific patronage or socio-political conditions at Abu-Ghosh around 1170. Kühnel himself states this, noting that

> [t]he particularities of the program of Abu-Ghosh, the choice and the location of scenes, are not an outcome of a Crusader political and social tendency, but rather an extension and development of the meaning of the event commemorated at the holy place where the church was built: the meeting of the Resurrected Christ with the two Apostles at Emmaus.[13]

Later studies, such as those by Bianca Kühnel from 1994[14] or Jaroslav Folda from 1995,[15] accept this conception.

Although I agree with Gustav Kühnel that the meaning of the event commemorated at the holy place was an important factor in determining the iconography of the mural cycle, I do not believe that this is the only important factor. Rather, I contend that the meaning of each of the depicted scenes should also be studied in relation to the Hospitaller patrons of the site.

The Hospitaller patronage of Abu-Ghosh

Assessment of Hospitaller patronage of Abu-Ghosh is directly connected to the development of traditions regarding the biblical Emmaus. Sources predating the

First Crusade, including Eusebius and Eucherius of Lyon,[16] identify the biblical Emmaus with Nicopolis, not far from Lydda and from the Crusader fortress of Latrun. The site later became the Arab village of Amwas. Eastern pilgrims continued to adhere to this identification throughout the twelfth century, including Abbot Daniel in the early years of the Latin Kingdom[17] and John Phocas in the 1180s.[18] In contrast to these traditions, western sources began to identify the biblical Emmaus with Abu-Ghosh.[19] Theodoric's description is the most detailed. Following his description of nearby Belmont he wrote that '[n]ear these mountains is the Village of Emmaus [castellun Emaus], which the moderns call Fontenoid, where the Lord appeared to two of his disciples on the very day of his Resurrection.'[20]

Although the Hospitaller patronage of Abu-Ghosh has in the past been the subject of much debate,[21] it seems now (mainly because of the important research conducted by Ronnie Ellenblum and Denys Pringle in collaboration with Richard Harper) a fairly well established fact. I will therefore content myself with a brief outline.[22] The earliest testimony indicating a Hospitaller patronage of Abu-Ghosh dates to 1141, when William Patriarch of Jerusalem confirmed an agreement made between the master of the Hospitaller Order, Raymond of Le Puy, and Robert of Sinjil regarding the *terre de Emmaus*, in which these lands were leased to the Order.[23] A central question is of course whether this *terre de Emmaus* refers to Abu-Ghosh or to Nicopolis.[24]

Later, between the years 1163 and 1169, the master of the Order, Gilbert of Assaily, offered the revenues of *Castellum Emaus* together with those of nearby villages such as Aqua Bella, Belveer and Saltus Muratus, to Duke Bella of Hungary in exchange for the sum of 10,000 bezants, which the duke had given the Order for the purchase of land to support him and his wife during a planned visit to the Holy Land.[25] The fact that the charter mentions *Castellum Emaus* as situated in proximity to *Aqua Bella*, the location of which near Abu-Ghosh is beyond doubt, demonstrates that by then at least Abu-Ghosh was indeed identified as the biblical Emmaus, and that it was in Hospitaller hands, whatever the situation had been in the 1140s.[26] This fact is crucial for the interpretation of the Hospitaller patronage of the mural cycle of the church, which is dated to the 1160s or 1170s.

The mural cycle of Abu-Ghosh as a Hospitaller programme

Key sources for the understanding of the Hospitallers' conceptions of the murals of Abu-Ghosh and our interpretation of them are the Hospitaller legends describing the miraculous foundation of the Order. I would like to connect these foundation legends and the cycle of Abu-Ghosh.

Beginning in the twelfth century, the Hospitallers created a corpus of foundation legends meant to demonstrate that the Order's history was ancient and rooted in a time before Christ and the Apostles. Several versions of the corpus are known, which have been studied by Keith Sinclair, Antoine Calvet, Anthony Luttrell and others, with the earliest extant version being an Anglo-Norman version dating from 1181–1185 and most probably based on a Latin source from the 1140s.[27]

According to the Anglo-Norman version, the Order of the Hospital was from its foundation associated with Judas Maccabeus, who became a benefactor of the institution.[28] Later, God appeared to Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, instructing him to administer the Hospital; and, most important for this chapter, Christ's post-Resurrection appearances took place in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital. According to this tradition, after entering Jerusalem Jesus had met with his disciples in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital, and after his Resurrection he twice had appeared to the disciples there; it had been during the second appearance that Thomas had revealed his doubts.[29]

Another source that confirms that these elements of the Hospitallers' foundation legend had circulated within the Order comes in the form of two letters which are now preserved in the archives of the Hospitaller commandery in Würzburg and which have been studied at length by Karl Borchardt. One was most likely written by a local Hospitaller commander, whereas the other purports to be a letter sent by the grand master of the Hospital. According to Borchardt both letters had been composed in Franconia in the second half of the thirteenth century as part of a fund-raising effort.[30]

The two letters not only contain some of the details mentioned in the Anglo-Norman text, such as the appearance of the resurrected Christ in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital, but also add several new claims: that it was in the Jerusalem convent that the Last Supper had been held, that it was there where the Apostles had hid from the Jews during the three days that Christ lay in the tomb, and that it was there that the Apostles had received the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.[31]

Both the foundation legends and the Würzburg letters therefore reveal a strong connection between the Hospitaller Order and Christ's Resurrection, with the central events of Christ's Passion and post-resurrection appearances being relocated so as to have taken place in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital.

The mural cycle of Abu-Ghosh, with its own emphasis on the Resurrection, was thus carried out during a period when there seems to have been a Hospitaller attempt to connect the central events of the Resurrection with the Order, and to locate them in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital. I would like to suggest, therefore, that the emphasis on the Resurrection in the Abu-Ghosh cycle can be understood not only as referring to the holy site and to Christ's appearance at Emmaus, as suggested by Kühnel, but also as expressing a Hospitaller attempt to strengthen the Order's connection to the Resurrection, and to emphasize the fact that an additional *locus sanctus* connected to the Resurrection belonged to the Order. This attempt, created visually, is parallel to, and complements, the textual endeavour as revealed in the foundation legends.

It is not only the paintings of the apses, however, that reveal a connection to specific Hospitaller concerns and motivations, but also the paintings adorning both walls of the nave. The second bay of the northern wall presents a scene of the Koimesis – the death of the Virgin – combined with an elaborate depiction of the journey of the Apostles on clouds, from every corner of the world where they were preaching, in order to be by the Virgin at the impending moment of her death

(see Plate 2a). At the centre is the Virgin lying on her deathbed, surrounded by the grieving figures of the Apostles, six at her head and six at her feet, while Christ is holding his mother's soul, accompanied by a vast celestial guard of angels dressed in Imperial costumes. On the upper part of the wall, as well as on the wall of the window arch, are depicted the Apostles on their aerial journey to Jerusalem. They are portrayed in groups of two figures, a guiding angel and an Apostle, each pair on a separate cloud (see Plate 2b).

Directly opposite the Koimesis, the second bay of the southern wall is dedicated to an extensive depiction of the Crucifixion, delimited on both sides by the crucifixion of the two thieves. To the right of Jesus on the Cross stands the Virgin, with John the Evangelist and the three sorrowing women, while to the left the group of figures includes the centurion and the sponge-bearer. Floating beside Christ, at chest level, are bust personifications of Ecclesia and Synagoga. While Ecclesia is being guided by an angel towards Christ, Synagoga is being pushed away from the Savior by an angel, whose effort is emphasized by the outstretched gesture of both his hands. Synagoga is depicted looking backwards and holding in her hand a broken spear.

Explaining the choice of the Koimesis and Crucifixion for the walls of the nave, Anne-Marie Weyl-Carr suggested in 1982 that their depiction in Abu-Ghosh, which includes the rejection of Synagoga, presents a message of 'the triumph over Synagoga by Mary-Ecclesia, assumed at her death to triumph in eternity'. This iconography was perceived by Weyl-Carr as 'expressive of western Crusader concerns'.[32] Although this might certainly be part of the case, I believe however that the choice of these subjects once again expresses specific Hospitaller concerns.

Once again the Würzburg letters come to our aid. Besides their emphasis on events connected with the Resurrection, the letters describe a very close connection between the Virgin and the Hospital, especially in the moments after Christ's Crucifixion and up to her death and Assumption. Events of the Virgin's life described as taking place in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital are as follows: After Christ's Ascension the Virgin remained in the Hospital for three and a half years, until, in the Hospital, the Angel Gabriel announced her coming death to her. It was to the Hospital that the Apostles gathered from every corner of the world in order to attend the Virgin's funeral, and it was from the Hospital that she was transferred to Mount Zion, and later to the Valley of Jehosophat, for burial.[33] Although the mention of some of these episodes as taking place in the Hospital is unique to the Würzburg letters, it is important to note that the Virgin's presence in the Hospital after the Crucifixion does appear in additional sources, which are earlier than the Würzburg letters and can be dated to the twelfth century. Most important of these is a papal bull issued by Celestine III in 1191, in which he states that Mary lived in the Hospital for three and a half years after the death of Christ.[34] The statement regarding the Virgin presence in the Hospital was repeated by Pope Innocent IV in 1254 when he confirmed Celestine's bull.[35] And so, extant sources – both papal and Hospitaller – show that in the last decades of the twelfth century, and in the first half of the thirteenth century, a connection between the

Virgin and the Hospital was stated and her life in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital emphasized.

Although the depiction of the death of the Virgin, together with the journey of the Apostles, is not unique to Abu-Ghosh, Gustav Kühnel has noted that the subject of the Apostles' journey is rarely found in twelfth-century Byzantine monumental cycles. In addition, the Abu-Ghosh version emphasizes their presence through the separate depiction of each Apostle on a cloud, and through their placement not only across the entire upper part of the wall surface, but also on the wall of the window arch, where again they are portrayed in groups of two figures.[36] Taking this into consideration, the fact that the mural cycle at Abu-Ghosh includes a portrayal of the death of the Virgin, and especially of the Apostles arriving at her deathbed, described in the sources as taking place in the Hospital – both of which in a cycle that is not Marian in its core – raises the possibility that the inclusion of these scenes was meant to manifest the special connection between the Virgin and the Hospital.

Before turning to an examination of the possible contexts of this Hospitaller choice of subjects, it should be noted, however, that the emphasis on the aerial journey of the Apostles to the Holy Land can be interpreted in additional manners – as manifesting not only Hospitaller concerns but also more general crusader notions, likening the journey of the apostles from the far corners of the earth to the journey of the crusaders to the Holy Land. Such a metaphor of the journey to the east has been recognized as carrying crusader notions in regard to other cycles of crusader art, such as the celebrated Nazareth Capitals.[37] Moreover, as shown by William Purkis, identification with the apostolic community was a central component of 'Crusader spirituality'.[38]

Traditions of a sacred past and their importance in the context of Hospitaller-Templar competition

I suggest that the desire of the Hospitallers to manifest the Order's connection with the Resurrection of Christ and the death of the Virgin should be understood as part of a wider effort of the Order to increase its fame and prestige, its political power and financial situation, in competition with the other major political powers in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (as well as in the West) and especially with the Knights Templar.

Both Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson have pointed out the political goals behind the creation of the Hospital's foundation legends, which were meant to confer on the Order the power and prestige which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the outcome of having (or acquiring) a venerable past.[39] Luttrell has even suggested that this endeavour was partly motivated by the Hospital's desire to conceal its initial connection to Amalfitan merchants,[40] that is, to patrons and founders of humble origin.[41] More specifically, Silvia Schein has suggested that the Hospital's foundation legends developed in competition with those of the Temple, as both orders were attempting to increase their fame by locating key events from both the Old and New Testaments within their respective headquarters

in Jerusalem.[42] Schein saw the Hospitallers' attempts to associate their Jerusalem Hospital with sacred history as indicative of their desire to transform the Hospital into a central locus within Jerusalem's sacred geography capable of competing with the Temple Mount and its Templar patrons.[43] The authority and prestige gained by the Hospitallers by means of such associations also had an impact on the ongoing competition between them and the Templars for funds in the West. As Karl Borchardt has shown, all military orders obtained funding and manpower from the same social groups, stirring the competition between them. In this state of affairs, the association of one order with a particularly sacred and venerable tradition carried much weight and was an invaluable fundraising tool, as the Würzburg letters have shown.[44]

In light of these concerns of the Hospitallers, both within the Latin Kingdom and in the West, it seems reasonable to suggest that the choice to include a Marian scene into the Abu-Ghosh cycle carried particular significance for the Order in that it allowed the Order not only to emphasize events from the Virgin's life which had taken place in the Jerusalem convent of the Order of the Hospital itself, but perhaps also to link the different sites that were under the Order's patronage (the Jerusalem convent and Emmaus), and thus confer on the entire Order an aura of sanctity.

If we now turn our attention to the Crucifixion, depicted on the southern wall of the nave, another intriguing possibility emerges. The pilgrim Saewulf informs us that the altar of the Church of Santa Maria Latina was situated on the very spot where the Virgin had stood during the Crucifixion.[45] This tradition was adopted by pilgrims and many twelfth-century sources describe the Church of Santa Maria Latina as the place where the Virgin had stayed during or immediately after the Crucifixion.[46] Theoderic, for example, states how in her agony the Virgin had fainted during the Crucifixion and had been carried to the place of Santa Maria Latina, where in her sorrow she tore out a handful of her hair, which was kept in a reliquary in that church.[47]

Sylvia Schein has contended that it was the Hospitallers who had propagated this tradition in order to turn Santa Maria Latina, which was adjacent to the conventual compound and part of the hospital quarter,[48] into an important Marian centre, as part of an attempt, already described, to increase the fame and sanctity of the Order.[49] Luttrell, on the other hand, has rejected this claim, stating that Santa Maria Latina was not part of the Hospitaller conventual compound but an independent Benedictine church.[50] This controversy is difficult to resolve because at its core is the question of boundaries of sanctity. In what way does the sanctity of an adjacent site affect that of its neighbour if the ties between the two are merely geographical? It must be mentioned in this context, of course, that the Templars portrayed the Templum Domini on their seal, in spite of it being under the control of the Augustinians.

If one accepts that the legend of the Virgin's presence at Santa Maria Latina during or after the Crucifixion originated with the Hospitallers, then this should also mean that the depiction of the Crucifixion in the Abu-Ghosh cycle must be added together with the Koimesis and the journey of the Apostles to the corpus of artistic themes with clear Hospitaller associations.

The question now arises as to whether the context of the cycle at Abu-Ghosh can be determined even more precisely than as a mere reflection of a general competition between the Hospitallers and the Templars.

As mentioned before, Abu-Ghosh was not the only location to be identified with Emmaus in the twelfth century. Nicopolis, located not far from Lydda and the fortress of Latrun, was also identified as Emmaus, especially by eastern pilgrims. The local Byzantine church, which apparently had been in a state of ruin at the time of the Crusader conquest in 1099, had been rebuilt during the twelfth century, although we know practically nothing of its decoration. But to whom did this church belong? In the absence of written records it is difficult to answer this question with any degree of certainty. However, Denys Pringle and Richard Harper have suggested that the fact that Emmaus-Nicopolis is located on a main road between two Templar fortresses, Latrun (Le Toron) and Yalu (Castellum Arnaldi), renders it likely that it, too, had been in the hands of the Templars, in particular if one considers that as the distance between Latrun and Emmaus-Nicopolis is less than 1km. Without delving too deeply into the complex history of both these fortresses, it seems that they had been built for the dual purpose of protecting pilgrims on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem and defending the area and the road to Jerusalem from invasions from Ascalon.[51] Pringle estimates that the possession of a large and important fortress such as Latrun required the possession of more territory than the land in the immediate vicinity of the fortress, thus strengthening the possibility that Emmaus-Nicopolis was also controlled by the Templars.

If this was indeed the case, then the Hospitallers' concern for building and adorning Abu-Ghosh, as well as the specific iconography chosen, with its links to the Jerusalem convent of the Order, should be understood as another expression of the competition between two rival pilgrim sites: Hospitaller Abu-Ghosh and Templar Nicopolis.

Conclusion

Although the identification of the site of Abu-Ghosh with biblical Emmaus certainly influenced the choice and arrangement of subject depicted in the mural cycle, this study has contended that the concerns and ambitions of the Hospitaller patrons of the site were another major factor in establishing the cycle's iconography. Thus, the mural cycle of Abu-Ghosh opens new ways of identifying and characterizing 'Hospitaller Iconography'. In addition, the proposed interpretation of the cycle as another expression of Hospitaller-Templar competition establishes the notions of competition and conflict as major factors influencing artistic endeavours in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Notes

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7 De Vaux and Steve, *Fouilles*, pp. 41–6.

8 Pringle, 'Abu Ghosh', p. 9.

9 De Vaux and Steve, *Fouilles*, p. 97.

10 J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 384; G. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 152, 173–4; E. Grabiner, 'L'iconographie du faux marbre, le cas de l'église Franque à Abou-Ghosh', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 38 (2007), 137.

11 For the history of Abu-Ghosh in modern time and stages of its deterioration and reconstruction see H. Goren, 'Early 20th Century Christian Institutions in Abû-Ghôsh (1873–1948)', *Cathedra*, 62 (1991), 80–106, esp. 83 (Hebrew). See also Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 152.

12 For a detailed analysis of this unique iconography see Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 153–5.

13 Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 176.

14 B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 52–4.

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20 Theodoric, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis', xxxviii, in *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 139, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1994), p. 184. Translation following Harper and Pringle, *Belmont Castle*, p. 14.

21 On the debate regarding this question see Pringle, 'Amwas' in *The Churches*, I, p. 53; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 111–14; Harper and Pringle, *Belmont Castle*, p. 217.

22 For a different view, contradicting the identification of Abu-Ghosh with Emmaus, and offering an identification with biblical Kirjat Jearim, see M. Ehrlich, 'The Identification

of Emmaus with Abū-Gōš in the Crusader Period Reconsidered', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 112/2 (1996), 165–9. I would like to thank Dr Shlomo Lotan for this reference.

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25 *CH*, I, no. 309, pp. 222–3. For this see Pringle, 'Abu Ghosh', p. 8; Harper and Pringle, *Belmont Castle*, p. 16.

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32 A.-M. Weyl Carr, 'The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land', in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 220.

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46 Schein, 'The *Miracula*', p. 291.
47 Theodoric, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis', xiii, p. 158.
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10 Tracing knights

Their pictorial evidence in the art of the Eastern Mediterranean

Anna Takoumi

To the memory of Anna Christidou, 'a tireless explorer of East and West'.

Depictions of knights – a typical iconographic subject matter of the Latin West – were transplanted into the art of the Eastern Mediterranean in the aftermath of the Crusades and the formation of the military orders.[1] These depictions can be traced in a few extant wall paintings and portable icons, which constitute votive offerings of Hospitallers and feudal knights to Latin or Orthodox churches on Rhodes and Cyprus, where a new and different political and social regime emerged, following the establishment of the Hospitallers (1309–1522)[2] and the Lusignan kings (1192–1489)[3] respectively. This chapter aims to examine the artistic framework of the compositions of knights, the degree to which they comply with the iconographic programme of the churches and the ideological messages they convey.

In the barrel-vaulted, partly underground, Latin chapel of Hagios Georgios Chostos at Phileremos, Rhodes, the iconographic programme – repainted in later years[4] – includes scenes from the Life of the Virgin and the Passion of the Christ on the vault, as well as a procession of supplicants and their patron saints on the side walls, with their heads turned towards the east wall, where the composition of Sacra Conversazione with donors is depicted in the upper zone and Saint George in the lower zone.[5] Stylistically, the frescoes are attributed to the so-called eclectic tendency of Rhodian painting, which consists of Byzantine and western features, as defined by Elias Kollias.[6]

The date 1447, inscribed among the various graffiti, serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the wall paintings.[7] On the basis of the depictions of the four fully armed members of the Nantouillet family[8] in these frescoes, Giovannella Ferraris di Celle has narrowed the date of their composition between 1380 and 1410[9] and Jean-Bernard de Vaivre subsequently to 1365.[10] The portraits of the Nantouillet family are depicted[11] on the eastern part of the south wall (see Plate 3) and the effigy of a fully armed man with four members of his family on the western part (Figure 10.1). What the two compositions have in common are certain western features, such as the upright posture of the figures, raising their arms in prayer,[12] as well as the display of coats of arms and military dress.[13]

Figure 10.1 Greece, Rhodes, Phileremos, Hagios Georgios Chostos, western part of the south wall, knight (2nd from the right) with his family

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From an iconographic point of view, the prominent place attributed to the Nantouillet family portraits on the south wall next to the Sacra Conversazione on the east wall, as well as the portraiture of the family members in nearly natural size, may be considered as a reflection of their social power and role. Moreover, it is noteworthy that even though they belong to the same family, each of the knights depicted had chosen a different patron saint. It is precisely through this differentiation that their personal preferences are manifested, bringing out the distinctive personality of each knight. The iconographic subject of the supplicant accompanied by his patron saint goes back to the early Christian period, that is to say to the common roots of both Byzantine and western art. On the basis of certain iconographic details, the first two saints, from left to right, are identified with one of the archangels and Saint Catherine (see Plate 3a),[14] both of whom were equally honoured in the East and the West, as well as by the military orders.[15]

On the second panel the knight and other supplicants, who are members of his family, are depicted kneeling under the mantle of an unidentified saint (Figure 10.1). This iconographic subject, which is obviously inspired by that of the Virgin of Mercy, was popular in western art and spread widely in the Crusader East, as it expressed in an imaginative and graceful way the hope of human salvation through the Virgin Mary's intercession.[16] This votive panel with the family joined in prayer highlights how important family unity and kinship ties were to its members.

Besides the portraits on the south wall, numerous other Latin supplicants depicted under the mantle of the saints' figures on the north wall join their prayers to those of the saints and address their invocations to the holy persons of the Sacra Conversazione on the east wall. The question then arises as to why they chose to be portrayed in the crypt at Phileremos. The key for understanding their decision lies evidently in the presence of the Byzantine miraculous icon of 'Our Lady of Phileremos'.[17] Despite the uncertain arrival date of the icon in Rhodes and its legends,[18] the report of Ogier d'Anglure in 1396 regarding the existence of the thaumatourgic icon and its reverence by 'Knights Hospitaller, Greeks and other merchants',[19] serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the great honour attributed to the Virgin Mary at the end of the fourteenth century. It can then be observed that the veneration of the Madonna of Phileremos[20] seems to be reflected upon the painted Mariological scenes on the south wall of the crypt.[21] Taking into consideration that few Mariological scenes are depicted in the extant Rhodian churches,[22] the selected ones in the small crypt are of great significance and are directly linked with the special honour attributed to the Virgin Mary in Phileremos.

As far as the choice of location is concerned, there are also other churches of Hospitaller patronage, built in areas of the island where rich Italians and other Latins used to live, as for instance in Paradeissi.[23] One such monument is the single-aisled vaulted church of Prophetes Avakoum (Prophet Habakkuk), which includes frescoes following the so-called 'eclectic trend'. The iconographic programme dated before 1395 includes Christological scenes in the upper parts and images of saints in the lower zone.[24] Two kneeling Hospitallers dressed with a black mantle and white cross on their left shoulder are depicted in the Deesis composition on the semicircular wall of the apse in the conch, under the representation of the Throne of Grace (see Plate 4a). The Hospitaller portrayed next to the figure of the Virgin Mary is very damaged.

In the single-aisled vaulted church of Hypapante (Presentation of Christ in the Temple) at Paradeissi, a badly damaged image of a fully armed man with his coat of arms can be seen praying at the feet of the figure of the Virgin Mary in the Crucifixion scene (1489–1503).[25] The incorporation of supplicants into scenes related to the Passion of Christ was a common practice that had been introduced by Latin patrons into the art of the Latin-occupied East.[26] Other characteristic examples can be seen in the north aisle of the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri[27] and in the Latin chapel at Pyrga, Cyprus.[28] In the town of Rhodes, this practice also influenced the artistic tastes of the Greeks. For example, in a mural in the burial crypt of St Spyridon dating to 1508, Andrew and George, whose names are inscribed in Greek, are depicted with their coat of arms on either side of Christ Crucified.[29]

With their iconographical western origins the portraits of Hospitaller Knights found on Rhodes may be compared with similar contemporary portraits found in the West. Such a comparison shows, for example, that the Nantouillet family portraits share the same iconographic context as the portraits of knights painted on the south wall of the Church of St Anastasia in Verona[30] and those of the family of Raimondo Lupi on the north wall of the oratory of St George in Padua,[31] both of which had been painted by Altichiero da Zevio (1370–1390).[32] The knights with

their patron saints and coats of arms are depicted kneeling next to one another, their arms raised towards the enthroned Virgin with the Child. The Italian portraits clearly reflect the ideological and political context of the feudal society of their time.

Especially interesting are the figures of knights found in the churches of Southern Italy, such as those depicted on the walls of Santa Maria del Casale in Brindisi.[33] One of them, depicted on the western part of the south wall, is characterized by a large group of kneeling armed men accompanied by horses and two grooms holding heraldic flags bearing their emblems (mid-fourteenth century) (see Plate 4b). The group is led by a kneeling man with his patron saint praying to the enthroned Virgin with the Child.[34] Stylistically, most features of the frescoes of the church were influenced by the artistic centre of Napoli, although a few derived from the Byzantine tradition.[35]

The panel depicting these knights stresses the social status of a fourteenth-century family in Brindisi. What differentiates them from the portraits of other families is the large group of fully armed figures. Their depiction with military equipment and horses is associated, on the one hand, with their military role and the services offered to the royal court and, on the other, with their intention to promote themselves as politically powerful alongside other prominent families.[36] Crucially what all of the votive panels reflect are the rivalries among the families within the framework of the established feudal regime. Moreover, they chose to promote their social status in the church of Santa Maria, of royal patronage, in Brindisi, an important port linking the Adriatic sea to the Eastern Mediterranean and a gateway for travellers, pilgrims and members of the military orders. One of them, who was a Hospitaller, Gaucerio *praeceptor Sancti Joannis Yerosolimitani*, also chose to be portrayed on the north wall of the presbytery of the church in 1336.[37]

Following now the traces of knights to Cyprus: in the south chapel of the ruined Franciscan church in Famagusta a damaged knight was depicted without a halo, holding a flag and standing besides his horse (end of the fourteenth century).[38] According to Camille Enlart, he was a donor, perhaps the man who had built the chapel.[39] The iconographic type of the knight with his horse holding his flag is typically western and is similar to that of military mounted saints in the so-called Crusader icons[40] and in the mural painting of churches belonging to military orders.[41]

What the Rhodian and Cypriot murals discussed so far have in common is the fact that they were all votive panels which had been offered by Latin patrons to churches and chapels located in places with a strong Latin presence. The Orthodox church of Hagios Nikolaos tes Steges (St Nicholas of the Roof) in Kakopetria possessed a well-known portable icon of Saint Nicholas (*c.*1300), which is now exhibited in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia, Cyprus. A knight of the Ravendel family (most likely Mellours de Ravendel, one of the last lords of Maraclea)[42] accompanied by his cantering horse and coat of arms is depicted with his wife and daughter kneeling in prayer at the feet of saint Nicholas (Figure 10.2).[43] The iconographic scheme of the standing saint and the supplicants next to him seems to copy that of a twelfth-century painting of an Orthodox monk praying to Saint Nicholas found on the wall of the

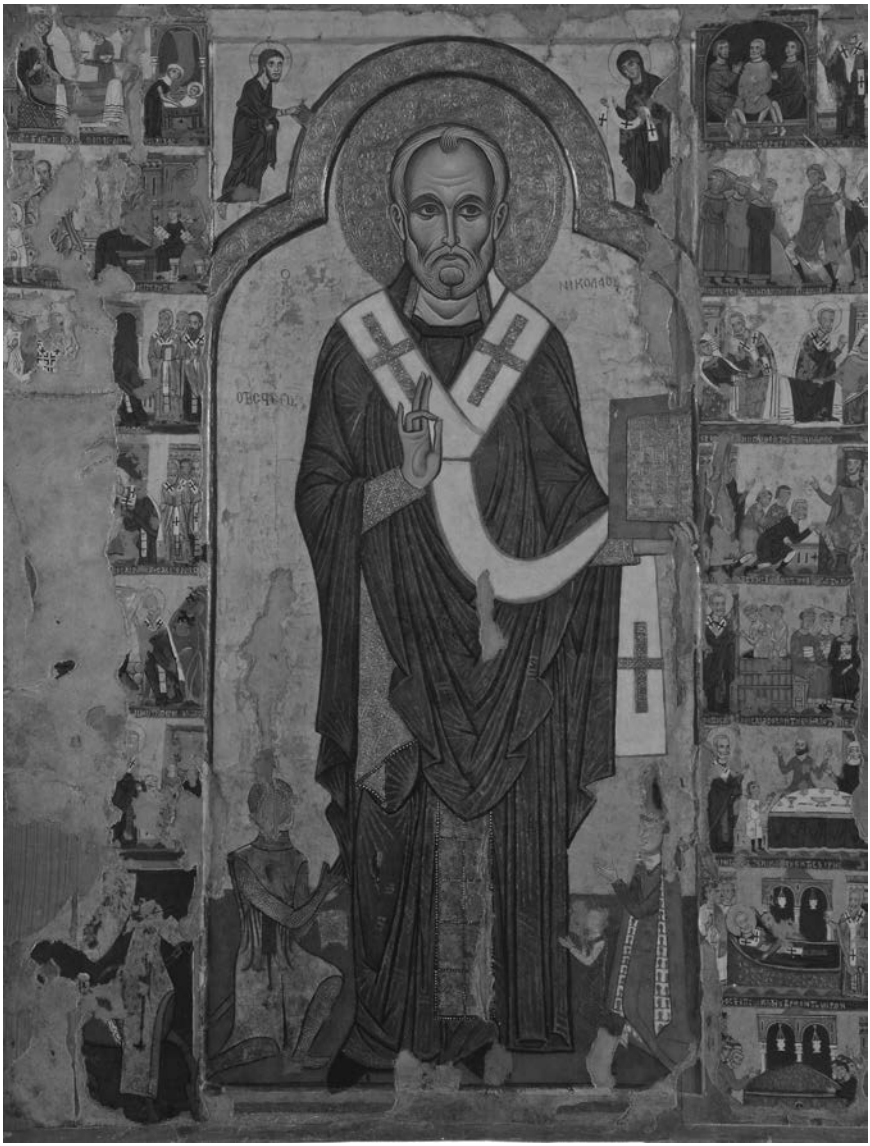

Figure 10.2 Cyprus, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, icon of St Nicholas with the portraits of the knight Ravendel and his family (Cipro e l'Italia al tempo di Bisanzio. L'Icona Grande di San Nicola tes Stegis del XIII. secolo restaurata a Roma, ed. I. A. Eliades (Nicosia, 2009), p. 90, fig. 1)

Reproduced with kind permission of the Byzantine Museum of Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia, Cyprus.

built-up entrance to the diakonikon of the same church.[44] Certain iconographic details regarding the knight and his family, such as the supplicants' upright posture, the depiction of the horse and the heraldic emblems, are typically western. Painted in a hybrid style, the icon has been attributed to Cypriot workshops and is understood to reflect the artistic environment around 1300, after the arrival of refugees from the Holy Land following the fall of Acre in 1291.[45] The artistic style of the icon and the name of the saint, inscribed in Greek, could be interpreted as a desire of a Latin patron for peaceful coexistence with the island's large Greek population, although the large-scale projection of a cantering horse might also be interpreted as revealing the knight's intention to promote himself as a dominant figure in the region.[46]

In another portable icon (*c*.1300), this time from the cathedral of Saint Nicholas in Bari, a knight, woman and monk are depicted kneeling in prayer at the feet of the enthroned Virgin with the Child.[47] The knight's hands are bare, with his gauntlets hanging from his wrists, an iconographic detail that probably should be interpreted as a gesture of humility and reverence to the Virgin Mary and Christ, as bare hands are related to the mortality of humankind.

To sum up, the knights are depicted as supplicants for their physical and spiritual salvation, promoting their military character through their equipment and coats of arms, as well as their knightly status, which distinguished them in the society of their time, even after death.[48] In most cases, the aforementioned panels have a familial character, in which the following are depicted: a) a family's knightly members, b) a knight with the nucleus of his family, and c) a knight together with other persons, who are related to him by family ties.

Concerning the extant Rhodian frescoes it can be observed that the knightly compositions were incorporated harmoniously into the iconographic programmes of the churches, which consist of scenes in the upper parts and individual saints in the lower parts. This system of interior decoration, related to the symbolic meaning of the church as 'Cosmos'[49] and the contemporary theological debates, was the most important principle of Byzantine monumental painting established after Iconoclasm in 843.[50] Similarly organized iconographic programmes influenced by a Byzantine model are also preserved in the churches of the Latin-occupied East, even of Latin donors. For instance, in the Hypapante at Paradeissi, the Hospitaller Knight was included in the Crucifixion scene, which was not shifted from the upper zone, thus serving both the personal desire of the donor and the consistency of the iconographic programme, according to Byzantine practices.

The small crypt of Hagios Georgios Chostos provides another interesting case study. The iconographic programme, organized in accordance with the established Byzantine model, complies with the small size and the function of the crypt; the chosen scenes of the Virgin Mary's Life on the vault reflect the great honour attributed to the image of the Madonna of Phileremos, while the scenes of Christ's Passion and the Angel with the balance of Psychostasia (Weighing of Souls) besides the figure of Abraham[51] are in accordance with the funerary character of the chapel. Seen in this context, all the supplicants joining their prayers for their spiritual salvation compose a wide supplication, adhered to Christ of Sacra Conversazione.

In contrast to Byzantine art, medieval western monumental painting followed the early Christian tradition and was developed regardless of the cosmological symbolism of the church and the theological debates on the meaning and the role of images.[52] When seen in this context, we can then observe that the scenes and the saints' figures are occasionally arranged freely in space on the upper or lower sections of the nave, as for instance in the Brindisi cathedral; the individually framed votive panels are depicted independently from one another on the walls of the church. Moreover, the representation of the enthroned Virgin Mary with Christ is repeated on each votive panel of all the prominent families. Undoubtedly, this repetition of holy figures bears witness to the special honour attributed to the Virgin Mary and related to the desire of each family to pray to the Virgin Mary independently and separate from one another.

Another question for discussion is the ideological messages of the portraits of the knights and the way they were perceived by the recipients in both the East and West. The different political and cultural environments in which the recipients lived seemed to define the framework of the interpretation of these messages. More specifically, in the Latin environment the recipients, members of the feudal society, shared the same culture as knights. In this context, the knightly panels are effortlessly considered as a symbol of high social status. And it is precisely this way of depicting knights with all the chivalric symbols that exalts them in the eyes of the observer. On the other hand, in the non-Latin environment, the ideological messages of the panels of knights were addressed to an audience of a different cultural background. In this case, the messages, transmitted under different circumstances, were simultaneously filtered within the context of the conqueror-conquered relationship. A typical example is the Kakopetria icon, in which a knightly patron (probably Mellours de Ravendel) sought to establish a peaceful approach towards the larger local population by adopting Byzantine pictorial characteristics familiar to Greeks. At the same time, the way he has depicted himself, as a man of military prowess, highlights his prestige as a feudal lord in contrast to the native population.

In sum, by following the artistic traces of knights this chapter has intended to explore the area of the Eastern Mediterranean not only as a field of conflict, but also as a colourful canvas, where people coexisted, promoting their culture and preserving their own identity.

Notes

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1 The distinction between knights belonging to the military orders, crusaders and others is important, see A. Luttrell, 'Hospitaller Historiography: Heritages and Heresies', in *MO* 3, pp. 3–11. For knightly values in the Eastern Mediterranean, see D. Jacoby, 'Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 1/2 (1986), 158–86.

2 Indicatively: A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece, and the West, 1291–1440* (Aldershot, 1979); Z. N. Tsirpanles, *E Rodos kai oi Noties Sporades sta chronia ton Ioanniton ippoton (14os-16os ai.). Sylloge istorikon meleton* (Rhodes, 1991); A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (London, 1992); Z. N. Tsirpanles, *Anecdota engrafa gia te Rodo kai tis Noties Sporades apo to archeio ton Ioanniton ippoton 1421–1453* (Rhodes, 1995); A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306*–1462 (Aldershot, 1999); A. Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306–1356* (Rhodes, 2003); E. Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes and the Palace of the Grand Master*, 3rd edn (Athens, 2005); E. Buttigieg and S. Phillips, ed., *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291–c.1798* (Farnham & Burlington, 2013).

3 Indicatively: G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1940–1948), I, pp. 315–21; II, pp. 1–496; III, pp. 497–764; P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991); N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, ed., *Cyprus and the Crusades* (Nicosia, 1995); P. W. Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot, 1999); A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. D. Schabel, ed., *Cyprus. Society and Culture (1191–1374)* (Leiden, 2005); G. Grivaud, 'Les Lusignan et leur gouvernance du royaume de Chypre (XIIe–XIVe siècles)', in *Europäische Governance im Spätmittelalter. Heinrich VII. von Luxembourg und die großen Dynastien Europas/ Gouvernance européenne au Bas Moyen Âge. Henri VII de Luxembourg et l'Europe des grandes dynasties*, Actes des 15es Journées lotharingiennes, ed. M. Pauly (Luxembourg, 2010), pp. 351–74.

4 M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco, ed., *La presenza italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948. La ricerca archeologica. La conservazione. Le scelte progettuali* (Rome, 1996), pp. 265–6.

5 G. Schlumberger, 'Fresques du XIVe siècle d'un caveau funéraire de l'église de Notre-Dame de Philérémos (ou Philerme) à Rhodes', *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot*, 19 (1911), 211–6, plates XXI–XXII; G. Ferraris di Celle, *La Madonna del Fileremo. Storia, arte, devozione intorno all'icona della Madre di Dio protettrice del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Verona, 1988), pp. 115–47; I. Christoforaki, 'Choreghikes martyries stous naous tes mesaionikes Rodou (1204–1522)', in *Rodos 2.400 chronia. E pole tes Rodou apo ten idryse tes mechri ten katalepse apo tous Tourkous (1523)* (Athens, 1995), p. 455, plates 176b, 177a; J.-B. de Vaivre, 'Peintures murales à Rhodes; les quatre chevaliers de Philerimos', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 148/2 (2004), 919–43; Kollias, *The Medieval City*, p. 129, fig. 28; T. A. Archontopoulos, *The Church of Hagia Aikaterini in the Town of Rhodes and Late Medieval Painting in the Dodecanese (1309–1453)* (Rhodes and Athens, 2010), pp. 153, 155 (in Greek with English summary, pp. 253–7).

6 E. Kollias, *Late 15th-Early 16th Century Monumental Eclectic Painting on Rhodes* (Athens, 2000), pp. 11, 17, 34, figs. 5, 15 (in Greek with English summary, pp. 60–2); Kollias, *The Medieval City*, pp. 123–9; See also Archontopoulos, *The Church of Hagia Aikaterini*, pp. 233–8.

7 B. de Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights* (Oxford, 1908), fig. 186. The date is no longer visible, see E. Kollias, *Dyo rodiaka zographika synola tes epoches tes ippotokratias.*

O Haghios Nikolaos sta Trianta kai e Haghia Triada (Dolapli Meztzint) ste mesaionike pole, unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of Athens, 1986), p. 225. For the rest of the graffiti, see Ferraris di Celle, *La Madonna del Fileremo*, pp. 126–7, 132, fig. 41.

8 A.-M. Kasdagli, 'Eisagoge sten eraldike tes Rodou', *Deltion Eraldikes kai Genealogikes Etaireias Ellados*, 7 (1987–88), 20, plan 1.15, identified the coats of arms with the Nantouillet family; de Vaivre, 'Peintures murales à Rhodes', pp. 942–3, identified the four figures with Renault, Jean, Oger and Pierre.

9 G. Ferraris di Celle, in collaboration with Professors E. Castelnuovo and L. Boccia, dated the scenes on the vault slightly earlier (*c*.1330–1340): Ferraris di Celle, *La Madonna del Fileremo*, pp. 148–50; di Celle, *Il volto della Madonna del Fileremo. Descrizione ed analisi iconologica della storica icona ricomparsa in Montenegro* (Rome, 2009), p. 24.

10 De Vaivre, 'Peintures murales à Rhodes', pp. 942–3.

11 see above, note 8

12 Cf. S. Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Murals of the Narthex: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Asinou Across Time. Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. A. Weyl Carr and A. Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), p. 124; L. Safran, *The Medieval Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia, PA, 2014), pp. 167–72.

13 Cf. C. Costantini, *L' iconografia del cavaliere medievale* (Todi, 2009).

14 The archangel has been identified with Gabriel: Ferraris di Celle, *La Madonna del Fileremo*, p. 122.

15 A chapel, dedicated most probably to saints Catherine and Mary Magdalene, was erected inside the Grand Master's Palace, see Archontopoulos, *The Church of Hagia Aikaterini*, p. 181. For testimonials of knights who visited the Sinai Monastery and its metochia throughout crusader territories, see A. Drandaki, 'The Sinai Monastery from the 12th to the 15th century', in *Pilgrimage to Sinai. Treasures from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. A. Drandaki (Athens, 2004), p. 30.

16 Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Murals of the Narthex', pp. 122–3, with earlier bibliography. See also D. Donadieu-Rigaut, 'Les ordres religieux et le manteau de Marie', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales*, 8 (2001), 107–34.

17 Ferraris di Celle, *La Madonna del Fileremo*, pp. 25–47; T. Archontopoulos, 'O thesauros ton Ioanniton Ippoton apo ten Ierousalem ste Malta', *Corpus,* 4 (March 1999), 75–7; Y. Piatnisky, 'Wonder-working Icon "Our Lady of Filerimo", in Russia', in *Rodos 2.400 chronia. E pole tes Rodou apo ten idryse tes mechri ten katalepse apo tous Tourkous (1523)* (Athens, 1995), pp. 473–7; M. Buhagiar, 'The Miraculous Image of the Madonna of Philermos and Its Uniqueness to the Knight Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem in Rhodes and Malta', *Sacra Militia. Rivista di storia degli ordini militari*, 2 (2001), 97–113; Ferraris di Celle, *Il volto della Madonna;* Z. Tsirpanles, 'Panaghia tou Phileremou. Oi peripeteies mias istorikes eikonas tes Dodecanessou', *Dodekanessiaka Chronika*, 25 (2012), 211–37.

18 Buhagiar, 'The Miraculous Image', 97–100; Ferraris di Celle, *Il volto della Madonna*, pp. 25–35.

19 R. A. Browne, ed., *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage of Ogier III, Seigneur d' Anglure* (Gainesville, 1975), p. 75; French edn: F. Bonnardot and A. Longnon, ed., *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure* (Paris, 1878), p. 93.

20 For the veneration of the Virgin Mary as a point of agreement and unity, see S. Phillips, 'The Hospitallers and Concepts of Island Existence', in *Islands and Military Orders*, pp. 15–16.

21 For the Mariological scenes, see Ferraris di Celle, *La Madonna del Fileremo,* pp. 138–41, figs. 50–3.

22 Also worth mentioning is the rare depiction of the Dormition of the Virgin on the walls of the Rhodian churches: Archontopoulos, *The Church of Hagia Aikaterini*, p. 212.

23 Christoforaki, 'Choreghikes martyries', pp. 453–4, note 41; See also Tsirpanles, *Anecdota engrafa*, pp. 425–7 (document no. 139).

24 Archontopoulos, *The Church of Hagia Aikaterini*, pp. 174, 235, figs. 42, 44 and especially p. 189, note 670, where he considered the inscribed date 1395 on the standing figure of the Archangel Michael on the north wall as a *terminus ante quem*. See also Christoforaki, 'Choreghikes martyries', pp. 454–5, fig. 176a.

25 Kollias, *Dyo zografika synola*, p. 220. Christoforaki, 'Choreghikes martyries', p. 454, note 45.

26 M. Bacci, 'Images "votives" et portraits de donateurs au Levant au Moyen Age tardif', in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, ed. J.-M. Spieser and E. Yota (Paris, 2012), pp. 293–305.

27 Cf. Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Murals of the Narthex', p. 130, note 71, where all the bibliographical references concerning the identification of the feudal lord are cited.

28 Ibid., p. 205, note 396, with earlier bibliography (dating to 1421); J. T. Wollensen, *Patrons and Painters on Cyprus. The Frescoes in the Royal Chapel at Pyrga* (Toronto, 2010), pp. 90–101, dated the decor to the first half of the fourteenth century.

29 E. Kollias, *The Knights of Rhodes. The Palace and the City* (Athens, 1991), plates 31, 32, 37; Christoforaki, 'Choreghikes martyries', pp. 457–8; For the crypt, see T. Archontopoulos and E. K. Papavassileiou, 'Rodos. Plerofories gia ten istoria tou topou mesa apo to gegonos tou thanatou. Tafike topografia tou nesiou apo ton 4o aiona m. Ch. eos tis arches tou 16ou aiona', *Archaeologika Analecta ex Athenon*, 39 (2006), 196, 199, 202 no 2 (in Greek with English summary); For the church, see I. E. Volanakes, 'O naos tou Hagiou Spyridonos ste mesaionike pole tes Rodou', in *Rodos 2.400 chronia*, 367–74.

30 M. Lucco, ed., *La pittura nel Veneto, Il Trecento,* 2 vols (Milan, 1992), II, figs. 476 and 477. See also P. Marini, C. Campanella and A. Paolucci, ed., *La basilica di Santa Anastasia in Verona. Storia e restauro* (Verona, 2011), pp. 133–7.

31 *La pittura nel Veneto*, I, figs. 189, 197.

32 Ibid., pp. 153–66; See also L. Baggio, G. Colalucci and D. Bartoletti, ed., *Altichiero da Zevio nell'oratorio di San Giorgio: il restauro degli affreschi* (Rome, 1999); J. Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and His Patrons in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge, 2000).

33 M. S. Calò Mariani, *La chiesa di Santa Maria del Casale presso Brindisi* (Fasano, 1967); G. Perrino, *Affari pubblici e devozione privata. Santa Maria del Casale a Brindisi* (Bari, 2013); Safran, *The Medieval Salento*, pp. 256–7; G. Curzi, *Santa Maria del Casale a Brindisi. Arte, politica e culto nel Salento angioino* (Rome, 2014).

34 Curzi, *Santa Maria del Casale,* pp. 94–6 attributed the panel to the Muscettola family and recognized the leader of the group as Giorgio Muscettola. For an identification with the Tocco delle Bande family, see Perrino, *Affari pubblici*, pp. 77–80.

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36 Curzi, *Santa Maria del Casale*, pp. 89, 102–3, 129, 137, 144.

37 At ibid., pp. 105–6, figs. 125–6 he argues that Gaucerio may have been depicted on the panel over the inscription. For the Hospitallers in southern Italy, see indicatively: M. Salerno, 'The Hospitallers in Southern Italy: Families and Power', in *MO* 5, pp. 263–72.

38 C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, 2 vols (Paris, 1899), I, pp. 334–5, fig. 208; English edition: C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. D. Hunt (London, 1987), pp. 266–7, fig. 219; See also, J.-B. de Vaivre and P. Plagnieux, ed., *L'art gothique en Chypre* (Paris, 2006), p. 28, fig. 4. For the Franciscan convent, see M. Olympios, 'The Franciscan Convent of Famagusta and Its Place within the Context of the Cypriot Gothic architecture', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 73 (2009–2011), 103–22; M.J.K. Walsh, P. W. Edbury and N.S.H. Coureas, ed., *Medieval*

and Renaissance Famagusta. Studies in Architecture, Art and History (Farnham, 2012), p. 149.

39 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 266–7 and 372.

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11 The manumission of Hospitaller slaves on fifteenth-century Rhodes and Cyprus

Nicholas Coureas

In this chapter various recorded instances in which slaves belonging to the Hospitaller Order manumitted on Rhodes and Cyprus in the fifteenth century will be examined. The various issues to be addressed include the ethnic origins, ages, gender and faith of the persons manumitted. The reasons why they were manumitted or at whose request manumission was granted, when this is recorded, will also be discussed, as well as any conditions attached to their manumission, especially as regards what the Order of St John gained or hoped to gain thereby. The historical antecedents regarding the manumission of Hospitaller slaves, such as the Order's own regulations and papal rulings, will be mentioned, and finally an attempt will be made to ascertain, where possible, what became of such slaves following their manumission. The source materials used for this communication derive mostly from published charters of manumission originating from Rhodes and Cyprus, all dated to the fifteenth century.

The ethnic origins of the slaves freed varied considerably. Although the greatest number were Greeks, the slaves freed also included Russians, Bulgarians, Tatars, Armenians, Hungarians, Turks, Berbers and Ethiopians. The Greeks manumitted were mainly from Rhodes, the headquarters of the Hospitaller Order following its conquest from the Byzantines in 1309, although two or possibly three of them were from Cyprus. Those who were definitely Rhodian, or at least Dodecanesian Greeks, included Yiannis Poulis, described as 'our slave and that of our House', manumitted on 22 April 1415 for his services to Brother Hesso Schlegelholtz, the late Preceptor of Kos. Two more Greeks manumitted on 5 October 1421 at the request of Brother Jeno de Boys/Bys were John Serjencin and Anthony Soupy, also described as being of the preceptory of Kos. Another was Xeni Angelina, manumitted on 24 February 1435 and described as the daughter of Costas Plandia, and Irene tes Mangaffadenas, referred to as 'our slave or ascetic and that of the said House in our *casale* of Koskino, now resident in Parambolino'. She was also described as 'a slave or serf', which suggests that the delineation between slaves and serfs was not always sharp. The slave Cosmas, manumitted by the Convent of the Order on 31 August 1439 and described as a belonging to the late Brother Geraud de Cervilion, was also Greek.[1]

Turning to those Greeks from, or possibly from, Cyprus, one mentions first Stratis from the *casale* of 'Corsorto', a possible corruption of Akoursos in the Paphos

district of Cyprus. Described as 'our slave' he was granted freedom at the request of Brother John Clareti, the lieutenant in the preceptory of Cyprus, on 8 October 1413. He was perhaps of Cypriot origin, although this is not certain because even if resident at one time on Cyprus he may have originated from elsewhere, especially if 'Corsorto' was not a Cypriot locality. On 26 July 1439 the Cypriot Kale Georgii tou Latrioti was granted her freedom at the request of Catherine de Lusignan, described in the document as the admiral of the kingdom, although it is likelier that she was an illegitimate daughter of King Janus married in 1427 to his Catalan admiral Galceran Suarez. She is also referred to as originating from the *casale* of Phinikas in the district of Paphos, a preceptory of the Hospitaller Order, although the document also refers to how either she or her father had been purchased by a former preceptor of the *casalia* of Phinikas and Anoyira, an indication that the history of her servitude was not clear. The fact that she was freed at the request of someone outside the Order is noteworthy, for most recorded requests for the manumission of Hospitaller slaves were submitted by Hospitaller brothers. The third case of manumission involves Philipponus Michalis tes Annas, a former slave manumitted on Rhodes, who may have been brought there from Cyprus by the Hospitaller brother Lous de Magnac, the seneschal of the grand master of the order and preceptor of the Grand Preceptory of Cyprus. He was manumitted at some point before 8 March 1453. It has been argued that the enslavement of Greeks by Latins declined considerably by the mid-fifteenth century, because of pressures exerted by the Roman Catholic Church against the enslavement of Greeks who were fellow Christians. Greek slaves on Cyprus are nonetheless attested, with four slaves bearing Greek names recorded in the Cypriot village of Mavromaria in 1452. Indeed, the enslavement of Orthodox and Patarenes from the Adriatic hinterland continued and even increased during the fifteenth century, with Balkan Slavs but also Greeks and Russians sold in Ragusa during the mid-fifteenth century to Italian, Catalan and Turkish purchasers, although Circassians and blacks were also sold in that port.[2]

After the Greeks the Russians were the most numerous group recorded in the manumissions of the fifteenth century. On 7 March 1446 the grand master had a young Russian slave named Louis manumitted at the request of the Hospitaller brother Michael de Olzinelles from the castellany of Empost. Michael was about to journey to Alexandria with Brother John de Cardona, and both of them were accompanying the Hospitaller interpreter and the ambassador of the Mamluk sultan on the latter's return journey from Rhodes. The grand master issued specific instructions for this manumission to be recorded in the registry of the Hospitaller chancellery. On 11 December 1450 the chancellery drafted on the grand master's behalf an open letter to the captains, patrons and sub-patrons of the galleys and other ships docked in the port of Rhodes commending the manumitted Russian woman Theodora de Grimani and her young daughter. He had granted them permission to leave Rhodes and go to Russia and stay there with those close to them. One observes here that fifteenth-century Hospitaller statutes stipulated that all slaves under the age of twelve should be returned to their own countries. Although these statutes were put into practice only from the 1470s onwards, it is possible

that in some cases they were applied earlier. A third recorded instance of a Russian slave freed in common form was that of John Rosso, explicitly described as 'of the Russian nation'; he was emancipated on 12 April 1449. The fourth case involved a Russian named Georginus, manumitted on 22 August 1451 on the orders of the Hospitaller grand master, John de Lastic. This was done in recognition of the services he had performed for the late William de Lastic, the preceptor of Phinikas and Anoyira in the district of Paphos in Cyprus. The manumission of Andreas Russo on 22 May 1438 by the grand preceptor and convent on Rhodes, who had been a slave of the late Grand Master Anthony Fluvià and had been freed in accordance with his will, possibly concerns a Russian, because the surname Russo might refer to ethnic origin.[3]

Two Bulgarian slaves are recorded as having been manumitted. One was Maria, described as 'as slave of ours and of the said house' and manumitted on 19 January 1404 in common form, which meant that no conditions were attached to her enfranchisement and that she became a Roman citizen. The full implications of this will be discussed later. The second Bulgarian, a woman named Catherine, was manumitted, likewise in common form, in July 1447. The relevant charter states that she had been acquired by one of the Order's brothers and had then become property of the treasury following his death. This was indeed the usual practice, although it should be pointed out that a ruling of 1311 decreed that slaves belonging to brothers holding land on Rhodes would remain on these lands after the brothers' death instead of becoming the property of the treasury. Furthermore, a ruling of 1332 decreed that the slaves on the *casale* of a deceased Hospitaller should remain there, whereas another ruling of 1332 gave the grand master the right to take up to four slaves for service in his *hospicium*, so long as he took them only once, an issue clarified in 1354.[4]

Two Armenians are included among the slaves manumitted in the fifteenth century. The first of them, 'Peter the said George the Armenian' as the relevant document describes him, was manumitted in common form by the Hospitaller grand master in Paris on 12 April 1413 as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered overseas, by which Rhodes is probably meant. The second Armenian manumitted was Jacobinus, a slave manumitted by the Hospitaller brother Peter of Balma at the time of his own death. Peter had been the Hospitaller lieutenant on the island of Kos and the emancipation was confirmed on 8 January 1421 by the grand master and convent of the Order, who appended their black waxen seal to the relevant charter. Unlike the first manumission, however, this one was conditional on service in the Hospitaller infirmary. The conditions or lack thereof attached to manumissions will be discussed separately. Another slave whose emancipation was granted on 22 December 1414 in recognition of her services in the infirmary was the Hungarian Helena. On 8 October 1445, moreover, the Ethiopian Thomas, possibly a dyer, described as a slave by purchase and as belonging to the Hospitaller treasury, was freed in common form in recognition of his services to the late Hospitaller brother John de Vilaragut, the castellan of Empost, to whom he had previously belonged.[5]

Not all of the Order's slaves originated from Christian countries. Some were Muslims or other non-Christians acquired by capture or purchase, and their

conditions of service were harsher. They had to wear shackles on their feet, and masters neglecting to enforce this provision could lose custody of their slaves for six months. Masters and others helping Muslim slaves to escape, allowing them to carry weapons or failing to stop them from boarding ships, were punished along with such slaves, while ships in the harbour of Rhodes had to be guarded and have iron chains around them to stop slaves from boarding them. Muslims slaves could exit only in the evenings after the closure of the harbour gate of the citadel if accompanied by a Christian escort to guard them. Nor could Muslim slaves run a business or sell goods in the marketplace. Nonetheless, such slaves could become Christians, and on doing so were technically eligible for manumission. The Order was reluctant to manumit such converts to Christianity because this would encourage insincere conversions, and a ruling of 1262 prohibited individual Hospitallers from baptizing or manumitting slaves without the grand master's express permission.[6] Nonetheless, as will be discussed in more detail later, Muslim or other non-Christian slaves of varied ethnic origins who had converted to Christianity are recorded among those manumitted in the fifteenth century, while one Muslim slave was freed without converting.

Two of the fifteenth-century Hospitaller manumissions involved Tatars. The Tatars were originally a nomadic tribe in the area of Lake Baikal, although subsequently this name was given in general to the Mongols and even to some Turkish tribes. Both the Tatars in question, originally pagans or perhaps Muslims, were converts to Christianity and were manumitted in common form. One of them, Louis, who was described as a slave by purchase, obtained his freedom in a charter dated 22 October 1451 from the Hospitaller Grand Master John de Lastic. He was freed in recognition of the services he had rendered for the late William de Lastic, the grand master's nephew and the seneschal of the Hospitaller Order, who was clearly his former owner and had been in charge of the magistral chamber of the Hospitaller preceptories of Phinikas and Anoyira in Cyprus. The second Tatar, named George and likewise manumitted by John de Lastic on 13 October 1453, obtained his freedom in recognition for the services he had rendered to both the late Hospitaller brother Bernard de Rochabruna of the priory of Catalonia, and subsequently in the Hospitaller infirmary on Rhodes. It is possible that these Tatars, if indeed of Mongol extraction, had originally been purchased on Cyprus. According to the fifteenth-century Muslim official and historian Abu'l Mahasin ibn Taghribirdi, in 1450 the Mamluk sultan Jaqmaq ordered his envoy Faris al-Turkmani to go to Cyprus to purchase Mongol slaves and have them brought from Cyprus. He gave him a sum of money in gold for this purpose and in addition instructed him to use the annual tribute due to him from the king of Cyprus to purchase such slaves. This constitutes evidence that Mongol slaves were being sold on Cyprus during this period.[7]

One Berber, that is a Muslim of North African origin, described as a slave by purchase, was manumitted in common form by John de Lastic on 20 September 1459. Named John (a clear indication that he had been baptized), he was freed in common form and by way of recognition of the services he had rendered to the late Hospitaller brother and prior of Catalonia Philip de Hortals, probably his

former owner. Over twenty years earlier, on 20 April 1436, the Hospitaller brother Joan de Vilagut, the castellan of Empost, had likewise obtained permission to manumit a number of slaves he had purchased from boyhood because of their domestic service and trustworthiness. He did not wish them to remain slaves after his death and had had them baptized, proof that they had been initially Muslim or pagan, although this unfortunately imparts nothing as regards their national or ethnic origin.[8]

Perhaps the most interesting case of manumission, albeit one falling just outside the fifteenth century and occurring on 15 June 1511, is that of the Turkish slave Cusseo, whose name is possibly a corruption of Hussein. Freed through the offices of the Hospitaller Grand Master Aimery d'Amboise, he had been working as a gardener in the grand master's garden, and it was granted to him that, '[We wish] that within our dominion you can use the prerogative of a free and enfranchised man just as the Turks here coming to Rhodes customarily make use of.' It seems that he obtained his manumission without first undergoing conversion to Christianity, something unusual in itself. It was, moreover, unusual, though not unattested, for Turks to be kept as slaves, given that the Hospitallers frequently massacred those Turks whom they captured in battle.[9] It is possible therefore that this Turk had been acquired by purchase. His employment as a gardener is not unusual, considering that a statute of 1357 permitted each Hospitaller hostel to keep one Turkish slave as a servant. Besides, one observes that Turkish slaves on Malta, where the Order relocated after the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes in 1522, had their own imam to lead them in prayer.[10]

As regards gender the male slaves manumitted easily outnumber the female, with more than seventeen of the former as opposed to six of the latter. None of the women originated from Muslim or pagan countries. Two of them were Bulgarian, one Hungarian, one Russian, one a Rhodian Greek and one a Cypriot. In the later fourteenth century Pope Urban V (1362–1370) had decreed that Greek slaves should be manumitted after seven years of servitude. A Hospitaller statute passed in 1461, ruling that women fleeing from Cyprus and taken into captivity could be sold into slavery on Rhodes but had to be freed after seven years of servitude, was clearly in line with the decree of Pope Urban V.[11] Turning to the male slaves, one observes that these included all persons of Berber, Tatar and Turkish origin, the two Armenians, six Greeks or Cypriots, one Ethiopian, three Russians and a fourth who was possibly Russian. The ages of the slaves manumitted are given or indicated only in the cases of the very young Russians. One was the male Louis, described as being thirteen or fourteen years old, and another was the daughter of the Russian Theodora, both of whom were to travel back to their homeland. She was simply described as young, but a Hospitaller decree of April 1473 ruled that all slaves less than twelve years old should be taken back to their homelands. The girl's emancipation sometime before 11 December 1450 antedates this decree, but it is possible that there was a practice of sending young slaves back to their countries of origin that the relevant decree simply made statutory.[12]

As pointed out earlier, some slaves were manumitted in common form, whereas others, less fortunate, had conditions attached to their emancipation. If a slave was

freed in 'common form' this meant that he or she automatically became a 'Roman citizen' or subject to the law of Rome. In practice this meant that the slave's liberty was unconditional, his or her descendants were free, no Hospitaller brother could speak or act contrary to the manumission, and the emancipated slave could maintain a shop or some other business on Rhodes or elsewhere. Despite the observation that the application of Roman Law on Rhodes was an unusual occurrence even as late as the early sixteenth century, there are several recorded instances of male and female slaves of varied nationalities gaining Roman citizenship on Rhodes following their manumission.[13] Among them were the Bulgarians Maria and Catherine, the Hungarian Helena, the Armenian Peter, the Greek Yiannis Poullis, the possibly Russian Andreas Russo, the Ethiopian Thomas, the Tatars George and Louis, the Cypriot Kale, the Russians John and Georginus and the Berber John.

In many, but not all, cases these slaves who had been granted Roman citizenship had received it for services rendered prior to their emancipation, either to the Order generally or to individual brothers belonging to it. Hence Peter the Armenian was freed in Paris in recognition of services rendered overseas, probably on Rhodes. The Hungarian Helena was manumitted in recognition of her services as a nurse in the Hospitaller infirmary on Rhodes, while the Ethiopian Thomas acquired his freedom on account of his services to John de Vilagut, the castellan of Empost, and following the castellan's death on 30 April 1445 to the Order's treasury, perhaps as a dyer. The Tatar George obtained his freedom for having served the Hospitaller brother Bernard de Rochabruna from the priory of Catalonia and after the latter's death the infirmary in Rhodes.[14] Both the Tatar named Louis and the Russian Georginus were granted their freedom by Grand Master John de Lastic in acknowledgment of their services towards his late nephew William de Lastic, the seneschal of the Order and preceptor of Phinikas and Anoyira in Cyprus. The Berber John was likewise freed by John de Lastic in recognition of services he had rendered to the late Philip de Hortals, the prior of Catalonia until the latter's death on 26 September 1449, and the Turkish slave Cusseo was freed in recognition of his services to Grand Master Aimery d'Amboise as a gardener, although his freedom did not involve the grant of Roman citizenship.[15] In certain other cases, however, the charters granting freedom in common form to male or female slaves do not mention any services rendered.[16]

Slaves less fortunate than those previously discussed were granted freedom in return for future, as opposed to previous, services, or on condition of buying another slave to serve in their place. The Greek, possibly Cypriot, slave Stratis from the *casale* of Corsorto (perhaps Akoursos in the Paphos district of Cyprus), was granted freedom at the request of Brother John Clareti, the lieutenant in the preceptory of Cyprus, on 8 October 1413, but on condition that he bought a Christian slave to reside in the same *casale* after the manner of slaves, to take a wife and to replace him thereby. The Greek slave Yiannis Poullis, freed for his services to the late Brother Hesso Schlegelholz, the preceptor of Kos, nonetheless had to perform a further three years of service. The Armenian Jacobinus, whom the late Brother Peter de Balma, lieutenant on Kos, had manumitted at the point of death on 8 January 1421 in return for services he had rendered him, had to serve in the

Hospitaller infirmary on Rhodes for an additional three years, having begun his service there on 1 March 1420. The two Greek slaves of the preceptory of Kos named Yiannis Sergencin and Anthony Soupy, freed by the grand master and the convent at the request of the Hospitaller brother Jeno de Bys on 5 October 1421, had to serve the Order for the remainder of their days and receive the necessities of life from the preceptor or his lieutenant 'like the others similarly manumitted'. The female Greek slave on Rhodes Xeni Angelina, described as a 'slave or serf', obtained her freedom on 24 February 1435 after paying the grand master forty ducats for him to buy another female slave in her place. On 31 August 1439, moreover, the convent decided that the Greek Cosmas, a slave of Brother Gerard de Cervilion, had to serve the prior of the convent of Rhodes for the next five years, with the prior paying the treasury the sum of twenty-five Rhodian ducats within the same period of time. Following the end of this term of service Cosmas was to be considered free. It should be noted that even in cases where Hospitaller slaves had to perform services to obtain their freedom or purchase another slave to replace their own persons, they still appear to have been more fortunate than slaves in the kingdom of Aragon. There they had to pay their owners sums amounting to two or three times their purchase price over a minimum time period of six to seven years according to the terms of a contract between themselves and their owners. An alternative route was to get their families to pay this sum in cases where the family was resident in North Africa.[17]

The question of what happened to slaves and their progeny following their manumission remains to be addressed. Enfranchised serfs on Rhodes became *marinarii* or marine serfs owing galley service. If they were women any children they gave birth to following their emancipation likewise owed galley service, even if born following their marriage to a free man. The documents manumitting former slaves in common form, however, and granting them the status of Roman citizens 'as if you had been born of free parents' say nothing about the status of the children to be born following the grant of freedom. Their status was in dispute even among contemporaries, as transpires from the dispute recorded in two documents dated 8 and 14 March 1453. Sometime before those dates the free woman Catherine tou Querimoti was married to Philipponus Michalis tes Annas, a former slave who had been manumitted and granted Roman citizenship. Following a dispute over the validity of this marriage, on 8 March the Latin archbishop of Rhodes declared the marriage valid and explicitly stated that the children to be born to the couple after their marriage were to be considered Roman citizens 'notwithstanding whatever are the conditions stated in the said legal instrument (of manumission), which even if they apply to persons are inapplicable to the person of the said Philipponus'.[18]

The archbishop's verdict elicited strong protests from members of the Hospitaller Order. Brother Louis de Magnac, the Order's seneschal and preceptor of the grand preceptory of Cyprus, who was perhaps the erstwhile owner of Philipponus, appeared before the archbishop on his own account and on that of the grand master and other officers of the Order. He declared that the archbishop had no right to declare the future children of the marriage free persons and that by doing so he had harmed the Order. He decreed the archbishop's verdict to be null, maintained that

he and the other Hospitaller officers objected to it and requested the composition of a public instrument recording these objections, which was to be appended to the archbishop's own verdict. In his reply the archbishop stated that he had never intended to cause offence by his verdict and that he acknowledged their objections 'in whatever things were admissible by law', a qualification which suggests that he did not wholly agree to their protests.[19]

In conclusion it can be maintained that in the fifteenth century the Hospitallers freed slaves who were attached to individual members of the Order or who had been so prior to becoming treasury property. Such slaves included persons of both genders, of varied national or ethnic origin and whose religious convictions encompassed Greek Christians, Muslims or pagans. The varied ethnic origins and religions of the slaves on fifteenth century Rhodes is encountered elsewhere in the same period, in the slave market of Ragusa mentioned earlier, but also in the traffic in slaves between Genoa and Spain. Although in the latter case the incidence of Muslim, and specifically Turkish and North African, slaves was greater, Russian, Tatar, Bulgarian, Greek and Circassian slaves also formed part of the traffic.[20] Slavery on fifteenth century Hospitaller Rhodes provides interesting evidence as regards manumissions. Slaves were often manumitted at the request of individual brothers, but one cardinal difference in the manumissions is that whereas some were freed in recognition of past services, others were freed on condition of rendering future ones. Furthermore, the legal status of any children they might have following their manumission in common form and the conferment of Roman citizenship upon them was unclear even to contemporaries, thereby occasioning legal disputes.

Notes

1 A. Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes: 1306–1440', in *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades 1291–1440*, ed. A. Luttrell (London, 1982), VI, pp. 98–100, nos. 43, 45–6 and 51; Z. Tsirpanlis, ed., *Anekdota engrapha gia te Rhodo kai tes Noties Sporades apo to Arkheio ton Ioanniton Hippoton (1421–1453)* (Rhodes, 1995), no. 2.

2 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 98–9, nos. 41 and 50; K. Borchardt, A. Luttrell and E. Schöffler, ed., *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459* (Nicosia, 2011), nos. 158 and 301; B. Arbel, 'Slave Trade and Slave Labor in Frankish Cyprus (1191–1571)', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 14 (old ser. 24) (1993), 159 and 163; P. Pinelli, 'From Dubrovnik (Ragusa) to Florence: Observations on the Recruiting of Domestic Servants in the Fifteenth Century', *Dubrovnik Annals*, 12 (2008), 60–3 and 71.

3 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', p. 99, no. 48; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdota engrapha*, nos. 160 and 230; Borchardt, Luttrell and Schöffler, *Documents*, no. 286; J. Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts: Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1522)* (Münster, Hamburg, London, 2001), p. 373 and note 81.

4 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 85–6 and p. 98, no. 39; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, pp. 372–3 and note 80.

5 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 98–9, nos. 40, 42 and 44; Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291–1530', in *MO* 1, p. 72; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdota engrapha*, no. 156; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, p. 373.

6 Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, pp. 370–1; Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 84–5.
7 P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 36, 41 and 59; Borchardt, Luttrell and Schöffler, *Documents*, no. 285; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdota engrapha*, no. 325; T. Mansouri, trans., *Chypre dans les sources arabes médiévales* (Nicosia, 2001), p. 95.
8 Borchardt, Luttrell and Schöffler, *Documents*, no. 287; Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', p. 99, no. 47.
9 R. de Mas Latrie, ed., 'Chronique d'Amadi', in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi,* 2 vols (Paris, 1891–1893), I, pp. 257–8 and 393.
10 Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, p. 373 and note 84; Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 86–7; H. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 85.
11 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', p. 88; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, p. 371.
12 Tsirpanlis, *Anekdota engrapha*, nos. 160 and 230; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, p. 370.
13 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 89–90 and p. 94, no. 8; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, pp. 372–3 and note 80.
14 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', p. 98, nos. 40 and 42; Luttrell, 'Medical Tradition', p. 72; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdota engrapha*, nos. 156 and 325.
15 Borchardt, Luttrell and Schöffler, *Documents*, nos. 285–7; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, p. 373 and note 84.
16 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 98–9, nos. 39 and 48; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, pp. 372–3 and notes 80–1.
17 Luttrell, 'Slavery at Rhodes', pp. 98–100, nos. 41, 43–6 and 51; Luttrell, 'Medical Tradition', p. 72; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdota engrapha*, no. 2; M. Dolores Lopez Perez, 'Marchands, esclaves et mercenaries: les transferts de populations dans le Maghreb médiéval', in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVIe siècles)*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducelier (Paris, 2002), p. 412.
18 Borchardt, Luttrell and Schöffler, *Documents*, no. 301 (pp. 414–15).
19 Borchardt, Luttrell and Schöffler, *Documents*, no. 301 (pp. 415–16).
20 G. Pistarino, 'Tratta di Schiavi tra Genova e la Spagna nel secolo XV', *Medievalia*, 7 (1987), 125, 127–9, 137–8, 143–5 and 147.

12 Back to Baffes

'A Castle in Cyprus attributed to the Hospital?' revisited

James Petre

During the first conference of the military orders, held in 1992 at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and in the consequent volume published in 1994, Peter Megaw argued strongly in favour of a view conceived by John Rosser that the castle of Saranda Kolones in Paphos, Cyprus, known to the Franks as Baffes, had been built by the Hospitallers.[1] This view has now found expression in a number of articles, most recently in one by Rosser himself entitled 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', which was published in the 2009–2010 volume of the journal of the Cyprus Research Centre.[2] This proposition sits rather like an iceberg above the waterline. What lies beneath is the more fundamental argument that the castle was built *de novo* in what we might call the early crusader period in Cyprus, thereby quite dismissing any counter-proposals that can be adduced for a Byzantine origin. In *Crusader Castles of Cyprus*, published by the Cyprus Research Centre in 2012, I examined the published arguments adduced by Megaw and Rosser and offered alternative perspectives, both in respect of the historical evidence and its contexts and the archaeological dimension.[3] It must be emphasized that, as the saying goes, the jury is still out on these matters, largely because the long postponed report on the castle's excavations has still not appeared.

The purpose of this chapter is to focus on the top of the iceberg above the water, that is, the claim that the castle was built by the Hospitallers. Starting with historical evidence and context, Megaw and Rosser observed that the Hospitallers arrived in Cyprus in 1198 when, on 2 December of that year, Pope Innocent III wrote to them and to the Templars urging them to assist King Aimery of Cyprus, who was also king of Jerusalem.[4] The key part of the letters read:

> Since then the said king . . . has left the tranquility of the kingdom of Cyprus, and undertaken enterprises across the sea, for the name of Christ, it is imperative that you, and others, provide help to the utmost.[5]

From their readings of modern histories of the island, notably those of Hackett and Hill,[6] Megaw and Rosser became aware that Giacomo Bosio, the sixteenth-century Hospitaller and historian of the Order, had noted the Hospitallers' receipt of Innocent's letter.[7] Rosser especially subscribed to the views of Hackett and Hill that Bosio reported that the Hospitallers took over some of the island's fortresses in

response to the letter.[8] From this Megaw and Rosser elaborated that it was the Hospitallers who must have then built the sophisticated concentric castle of Saranda Kolones. However, Bosio's testimony is problematic for a number of reasons. As these have bearing on any case made in favour of a Hospitaller provenance for the castle, they are worth looking at in detail.

First, Bosio wrote a full four centuries after these events: his first volume, which covers this period, was not published until 1594. Second, although Bosio provided the tenor of the papal letter, he also noted that the letter itself did not appear in the registers of the '*Libraria Apostolica*'. So it is not clear how he could have known about it. Third, although he observed that the pope's letter was addressed to the Hospitallers, he later added that it had been delivered first to King Aimery, who then passed it on to the Order, so there seems to be some uncertainty as to whether it went directly. Fourth, there is some ambiguity about the date of the letter. Bosio gave it as 20 November of the first year of Innocent's pontificate, but the letter in the papal registry is dated 2 December of that year, as mentioned earlier.[9] Finally, as Hill noted, Bosio recorded that the letter had been received by the master of the Hospital, Goffredo le Rat; but Goffredo was not to hold that office until 1206–1207.[10]

It is noteworthy that neither the letter that we know to be in the papal registers, nor Bosio's report of it, makes any allusion to the suggestion that the Hospitallers should take over fortresses. In fact, according to Bosio, Aimery requested this only when he passed the letter on to Goffredo:

> After the King had received this brief, presenting it to the Master Brother Goffredo le Rat, he asked him that, accepting the responsibility and governance of the island of Cyprus, he should be willing to send part of his knights and of his people to defend and protect those fortresses.

It may be impossible to establish how Bosio could have gained any knowledge of such a request of the master of the Hospital. He could have invented it to enhance the esteem in which the Order was held. Be that as it may, he continued that Goffredo accepted the responsibility, which was a heavy burden, but Bosio did not go so far as to claim that the Order had in fact taken any action. It therefore appears that Bosio provides little in the way of real evidence that the Order had contributed anything to the defence of the island at that time.[11] With this in mind and considering that it is unlikely that King Aimery would have been inclined to give up his fortresses to another power, the inference is that, as far as the island's castles were concerned, the effect of Innocent's letters was negligible.

Megaw supported his argument that Saranda Kolones was the Hospitaller response to the pope's initiative by asserting that the Order held estates in the neighbourhood.[12] However, it seems clear that it was the Order of the Temple that held property and vineyards in Paphos and that this 'estate' came into the possession of the Hospital only after the suppression of the Temple in 1312.[13] Indeed, given that from the outset the Hospitallers most probably established their main

base in Cyprus at Limassol and not Paphos, it seems unlikely that they should, or could, have expended such considerable effort at Saranda Kolones.

According to the arguments of Megaw and Rosser, the Hospitaller presence and work at Saranda Kolones was their contribution to guarding Cyprus against a feared Byzantine attempt to recapture the island. In their view the eclipse of the Byzantine empire in the Fourth Crusade had ended such a threat and that it was then, in 1204, that the Hospitallers must have stopped work on the castle, leaving it unfinished, as indeed we know it to have been.[14] Interestingly, this interpretation now chooses to ignore Bosio who said nothing about Byzantium in this context – either as a threat in 1198 or as an extinguished threat in 1204. Instead he remarked that it was the succession of Hugh I, in 1205, which ended any need to aid the king of Cyprus, because unlike Aimery, Hugh did not become king of Jerusalem.[15] Similarly the papal letters of December 1198 also say nothing about a Byzantine threat.[16] What Innocent and, through him, the military orders were most concerned about was not so much the Byzantine empire, which they surely knew was now relatively weak, having already ceased to exist as a sea power.[17] Rather, they were preoccupied with taking every advantage and making every effort to recapture Jerusalem. The papal letter and Bosio's report of it put emphasis on liberating Jerusalem: '*liberatione del santissimo Sepolcro del Signore*'. It should be noted that Pope Innocent did refer to a Byzantine threat in certain letters dating from December 1199, addressed to the kings of England and France, in which he warned that, 'the emperor at Constantinople threatens to proceed against the king of Cyprus.'[18] However, as we have seen, the king of Cyprus was also king of Jerusalem, and these letters make it plain that Innocent's overriding focus was the Christian cause in the Holy Land. Indeed, in November 1199 Innocent had written directly to Alexius III urging him to help in the fight to recapture Jerusalem.[19] In reality, therefore, there are good grounds to consider any allusion to Byzantium in the December 1199 letters as a mere smoke screen for Innocent's preoccupation, which remained Jerusalem.

The argument that the papal letters of December 1198 and 1199 were genuine appeals against a Byzantine threat has largely been based on the premise that there could not have been a threat from the Muslims because of King Aimery's truce with the successors of Saladin, agreed in July 1198, which was to last for five years and eight months.[20] It is possible that this truce would have persuaded Innocent to hold back from urging war on the Muslims at this point; however, it is worth considering the situation in Egypt and the Levant in 1198 in order to have a fuller perspective. Innocent's letters were written in December, as already noted. On 19 November 1198 the Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt, al-ʿAzīz Uthman, had died and his passing had greatly exacerbated disunity within the fractured Ayyubid empire.[21] Indeed, immediately following his note on the Hospitallers' receipt of Pope Innocent's letter of December 1198, Bosio remarked that the disarray of the Saracens seemed to offer a great opportunity to recover Jerusalem, implying that the arrival of a Hospitaller contingent in Cyprus was for that purpose. The liberation of Jerusalem would not have been served by pouring resources into constructing a major castle in Paphos.

After 1198 and for the duration of his pontificate, Innocent continued to pursue his principal ambition: the recovery of Jerusalem, which necessitated the consolidation of the crusader states, including Cyprus. In January 1212, he wrote to the Templars once again urging them to send aid to the island. As with his letters of 1198, the letter of 1212 did not identify a threat.[22] Indeed it would appear that there was none. The Byzantine Empire had been shattered, and the Ayyubid Sultan was busy holding his own dominions together and consequently wanted peace. As in 1198 and 1199 then, Innocent was not reacting against a real expectation that Cyprus would be attacked. Instead, his ongoing thought seems to have been to secure Cyprus as an element in his grand plan for a new crusade. This did not require that the military orders needed to construct castles on the island.

Against this historical background then, it is extremely hard to see the Hospitallers either wanting or being allowed to deploy the huge resources necessary to create the major castle of Saranda Kolones as Megaw and Rosser have put forward. It is also implausible that, had the Hospitallers in fact gone to the trouble and cost of major works at the castle, they would subsequently have calmly handed it back to the Lusignans, as these authors have assumed. It appears likely that their view was primarily the consequence of an archaeological perspective, around which they tried to see an historical context. Accordingly, it is appropriate to re-evaluate the archaeological argument.

First, and in general, if, as *per* Megaw and Rosser, Saranda Kolones was the Hospitaller response to the papal initiative and the Templar contribution was the castle and port of Gastria on the other side of the island built about the same time, it would seem a little odd that there should be such a massive disparity in design if both had the same inspiration.[23] Comparison with Kyrenia is also worthwhile. If the Byzantine threat had been so prominent and consequently the Fourth Crusade brought this to an end, then we might expect to find some concentrated effort to strengthen that castle up to 1204 and then a similar discontinuation of effort. Of course this is a little difficult to pursue because Kyrenia was subsequently so very heavily developed, but at least it is worth noting that in Megaw's detailed description of Kyrenia, there is no suggestion of any discernment of very early work suddenly halted as postulated for the Paphos site, nor has there ever been any suggestion that Kyrenia was downgraded from use as a castle after 1204.[24]

Moving to the particular, what really inspired the view that Saranda Kolones was a Hospitaller castle was John Rosser's appreciation of its general resemblance to the Order's castle of Belvoir in eastern Galilee. Shortly afterwards, Thomas Biller's careful study of Belvoir, published in 1989, revealed more detail that aided close comparison, and this persuaded Peter Megaw to urge too that Saranda Kolones was a Hospitaller foundation.[25] The comparison is central in Peter Megaw's paper in the proceedings of *MO* 1; his article includes ground plans of both these castles.[26] In their discussions on the similarities of the two castles, Megaw and Rosser pointed out that Saranda Kolones follows the regular concentric layout of Belvoir; that in both, the inner wards comprise a continuous ring of vaulting, divided by partitions, certainly on the ground floor and probably also on the upper. As they pointed out, both sites have a gate tower on their inner

enceintes containing a right angle entrance, each of which has a chapel on the upper floor that contained comparable capitals. Both castles have accommodation set against the outer curtain wall. Both have a number of sally ports issuing into the ditch beyond the outer wall (three in Belvoir; five in Paphos with a further three planned but then abandoned), and both have single posterns leading out from their west outer curtains to bridges over the ditch (the bridge being built at Belvoir and intended at Saranda Kolones). Biller led Megaw to consider that it was likely that the architect at Paphos was one with direct knowledge of Belvoir and that he may well have known of its efficient defence in 1189, not that this necessarily makes either the architect or the castle at Paphos a Hospitaller one. Megaw admitted that there were also some dissimilarities between the designs of the two castles, but he gave these negligible attention.

These dissimilarities are in fact considerable and should not be dismissed as 'minor' as Rosser did in 1986.[27] First, there is a considerable difference in scale: Saranda Kolones is only about half the size of Belvoir. The Paphos castle would then have been capable of accommodating a proportionally smaller establishment. Second, the sites are somewhat different. Belvoir was built at the top of the high western escarpment that drops steeply down to, and overlooks, the Jordan valley; so on one side at least its position is naturally defensible. Saranda Kolones is a few hundred metres only from the shore line on ground that is only very slightly higher: there is not much in the way of utilizing a defensible site here. The third matter is the shape of the towers at Saranda Kolones. Those on the outer *enceinte* are remarkable in that they are varied, being circular, polygonal, rectangular and wedge-shaped. The towers at Belvoir, by contrast, are of a regular rectangular design. Furthermore, the corner towers of Saranda Kolones' inner *enceinte* are rectangular and occupy a fairly large part of the outer bailey, whereas those at Belvoir are more or less square and do not extend more than the thickness of their walls along the curtain walls or into the outer bailey. Fourth, the location and type of the gateways are different in a number of ways. At Saranda Kolones, the gatehouse of the inner ward is contained within a semi-circular tower and is situated immediately behind that of the outer ward, both of which are at the centre of their respective curtain walls on the east side. At Belvoir, the gatehouse of the inner ward is within a square tower and located at the centre of the west curtain wall, well away from the principal gateway arrangement through the outer curtain, which is on the other side of the castle. The route into this outer gateway at Belvoir is channelled between the outer curtain wall and a further, parallel wall beyond, so as to form a barbican; this is quite different from what can be seen in the Paphos castle. Moreover, this outer gateway at Belvoir is positioned at a corner of the rectangular *enceinte*, not at the centre of the east wall as at Saranda Kolones. The single postern gates on their west outer curtains also do not follow a similar arrangement: that at Saranda Kolones runs out from the side of a mural tower, whereas the postern at Belvoir is midway through a stretch of the curtain wall. Fifth, the masonry work at Belvoir is, in general terms, of a superior quality. It is faced throughout in well cut and well fitted ashlar. Excavations at Saranda Kolones have revealed sections of wall which are also well laid, but there are also courses

of uneven, unshaped coarse masonry, though this may be merely the consequence of the site remaining incomplete. Unlike Saranda Kolones which is limestone throughout, the main material used at Belvoir is basalt, with limestone imported and used only for groins, doorways and so forth. Sixth, an extremely prominent feature of Belvoir's design is the considerable batter of the outer *enceinte*'s walls. This is not replicated at Saranda Kolones, where there is only some slight scarping of the rock on which the towers and walls sit. One consequence of this is that the points of egress from the posterns into the ditch are better concealed at Belvoir than was possible at Saranda Kolones.

A further difference relates to the vaulted chambers around the inner *enceintes*: at Saranda Kolones they were groin-vaulted and supported on pillars rather than barrel-vaulted as at Belvoir. The large barrel-vaulted chambers arranged around the inside of Belvoir's outer *enceinte* are similarly not replicated at the Paphos site where these sets of rooms are much less substantial. Other, minor differences include the locations of the forge and bathhouse (outer ward at Belvoir; inner at Saranda Kolones) and the impressive latrine system at Saranda Kolones which Belvoir lacks.[28] As to the comparability of the capitals in the inner gatehouse chapels, it would be unwise to assume that this constitutes an indelible Hospitaller fingerprint: in his study of castle chapels in the Frankish East, Denys Pringle showed that Hospitaller, and for that matter, Templar chapels frequently varied in style and location within castles.[29] The safer evaluation of the capitals is merely that they are crusader and not specific to a particular military order. The apparent resemblance of Saranda Kolones to Belvoir prompted a suggestion that the architecture at Paphos was designed for a conventual routine, thus facilitating the ascription of the castle, in the views of Megaw and Rosser, to the Hospitallers, or in the view of Antonio Cadei, who has also written on the subject, to the Templars.[30] As Denys Pringle has pointed out, however, 'no significant differences are discernible between the twelfth century castles of the military orders and those of secular lords, except perhaps for the prominence given to a chapel in the former.'[31]

A final detail that may be submitted against the argument that one of the military orders occupied the castle concerns the possible residence of women at the site. Archie Dunn, who was in charge of the excavation of 'minor objects' in the castle, has reported finding '"ladies" jewellery and belt buckles, which are from the castle context as opposed to pre-castle or post-destruction'. They are, he has added, 'diagnostically medieval as opposed to ancient or Early Byzantine'.[32] These artefacts could, of course, originate from the castle at some point in its active life after a Hospitaller departure, but this is an interesting detail which rather speaks for itself.

This chapter began with a simile: that the debate over the origins of Saranda Kolones seems like an iceberg. The present analysis has not gone below the waterline, or perhaps more appropriately, below ground level, to discuss the bigger subject of when the castle was first commenced and by whom. That involves a lengthy discussion and is outside the remit of this essay. It is also a more controversial matter than that which has been considered here. In sum, there are numerous weaknesses in the historical and archaeological arguments that this castle in Cyprus is attributable to the Hospital. The evidence for this is far too thin.

Notes

1 P. Megaw, 'A Castle in Cyprus attributable to the Hospital?', in *MO* 1, pp. 42–51.
2 J. Rosser, 'Crusader Castles of Cyprus', *Archaeology*, 39 (1986), 41–7; J. Rosser, 'The Lusignan Castle of Paphos called "Saranda Kolones"', in *Western Cyprus*: *Connections*, ed. D. W. Rupp, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, 77 (Goteborg, 1987), pp. 185–98; J. Rosser, 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', *ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ*, 35 (2009–2010), 35–51. See also A.H.S. Megaw and J. Rosser, 'A Watchtower before Paphos Castle', in *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (2002), pp. 319–34.
3 J. Petre, *Crusader Castles of Cyprus. The Fortifications of Cyprus under the Lusignans 1191–1489* (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 313–57.
4 Megaw, 'A Castle in Cyprus', p. 48 and Rosser, 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', p. 46.
5 *Die Register Innocenz' III (1198/99)*, vol. 1, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher (Graz-Cologne, 1964), doc. 438, pp. 661–2; partly trans. in N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 8.
6 J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus* (London, 1901), pp. 77–8, 629; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus,* vol. 2: *The Frankish Period 1192–1432* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 30.
7 G. Bosio, *Dell' Istoria della Sacra Religione et Ill*^{MA} *Militia di S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1594), p. 147.
8 As most recently reasserted in his 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', pp. 48–50.
9 Bosio, *Dell' Istoria*, 1, p. 147.
10 J. Delaville le Roux, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100–1310)* (Paris, 1904, reprinted 1999), pp. 131–2; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 2, p. 30; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310* (London, 1967), p. 155.
11 Bosio, *Dell' Istoria*, I, pp. 146–9. The quoted extract is from p. 147.
12 Megaw, 'A Castle in Cyprus', p. 48; See also Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 2, p. 30, and Rosser, 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', p. 49.
13 Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John*, p. 505; P. W. Edbury, 'The Templars in Cyprus', in *MO* 1, p. 191, fn. 7. Cf. Coureas, *The Latin Church*, pp. 125, 156.
14 Megaw, 'A Castle in Cyprus', pp. 45 and 48; Rosser, 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', pp. 45–50, derived from Hackett and Hill (see note 6) and noting Coureas, *The Latin Church*, pp. 8–9.
15 Bosio, *Dell' Istoria*, 1, pp. 146–7.
16 See note 5.
17 For the decline of Byzantium on land and sea, see H. Ahrweiller, *Byzance et la Mer. La Marine de Guerre. La Politique et les Institutions Maritimes de Byzance aux VII*^{e}*–XV*^{e} *Siècles* (Paris, 1966), pp. 257–8, 268–70, 280–92; C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180–1204* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), pp. 5–7, 15–18, 20, 41–2, 47, 62–3, 88–96, 109–10, 113–14, 125–33, 156, 160–72, 195–206; P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 4, 10; P. W. Edbury, 'The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours', in *Kupros apo tin proistoria stous neoterous chronous* (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 223–42 [reprinted in *Kingdoms of the Crusaders, From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, ch. XI (Aldershot, 1999)], at p. 226; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204*, 2nd edn (Harlow, 1997), pp. 168–9, 185–6, 226–33, 299–301, 304–15, 320–2; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, 'The Conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and its Aftermath: A Study of Sources and Legend, Politics and Attitudes in the Year 1191–1192', *ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ*, 26 (2000), 25–123, see pp. 34–5; Petre, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 12–15.
18 *Die Register Innocenz' III (1199/1200),* vol. 2, ed. O. Hageneder, W. Maleezek and A.A. Strnad (Rome, Vienna, 1979), doc. 241 (251), pp. 459–62; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 2, pp. 62–3; Coureas, *The Latin Church*, p. 8.
19 *Die Register Innocenz' III (1199/1200),* 2, doc. 202 (211), pp. 394–7; trans. in J. Bird, E. Peters and J. M. Powell, ed. & trans., *Crusade and Christendom. Annotated Documents*

in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291 (Philadelphia, PA, 2013), pp. 38–42.

20 Megaw, 'A Castle in Cyprus', p. 48; Rosser, 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', p. 46. For the truce, renewed in September 1204 for six years, see also Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 34, citing J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. J. Shirley, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 207, 210, cf. p. 201.

21 D. S. Richards, ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period*, Part 3: *The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 39–50.

22 For the letter of January 1212 see Coureas, *The Latin Church*, p. 126, citing *PL* 216, col. 737. Pope Innocent III's enthusiasm for a new crusade has been noted by numerous scholars, including H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 183–5 and most recently Bird, Peters and Powell, *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 24–5, 28–42.

23 Megaw, 'A Castle in Cyprus', p. 48; Rosser, 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', pp. 47–8.

24 A.H.S. Megaw, *A Brief History and Description of Kyrenia Castle* (Nicosia, 1964).

25 T. Biller, 'Die Johanniterburg Belvoir am Jordan', *Architectura. Zeitschrift fur Geschichte der Baukunst*, 19 (1989), 105–36.

26 Megaw, 'A Castle in Cyprus', pp. 48–50. See also Rosser, 'Who built "Saranda Kolones"?', pp. 37–44.

27 Rosser 'Crusader Castles of Cyprus', p. 47.

28 A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology. The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London, 1999), p. 109 and Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders. A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlements and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)* (Abingdon, 2006), pp. 124–5, 163.

29 D. Pringle, 'Castle Chapels in the Frankish East', in *La Fortification au Temps des Croisades*, ed. N. Faucherre, J. Mesqui and N. Prouteau (Rennes, 2004), pp. 25–41, esp. 27–33.

30 A. Cadei, 'Castellum Quod Dicitur Baffes', in *Arte d'Occidente; temi et metodi. Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, ed. A. Cadei, R. Tosti-Croce, A. Segagni Malacart and A. Tomei (Rome, 1999), pp. 131–42.

31 R. P. Harper and D. Pringle, *Belmont Castle: The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), p. 215.

32 Correspondence from A. Dunn, 21 August 2013.

13 Hospitaller statecraft in the Aegean

Island polity and mainland power?

Michael Heslop

The acquisition of Rhodes in 1309 and the subsequent conquest of the adjacent Dodecanese islands moved the Hospitaller power base from the Levant to the Aegean (Figure 13.1). At first, however, the Hospitallers were an island rather than a mainland power, which may have presented them with a strategic dilemma. Should they seek to remain an island polity, with or without adding further islands, or should they try to acquire territory on the mainland somewhere on the Aegean coast as well? This dilemma may well have underpinned Hospitaller behaviour in the Aegean for more than 100 years, until geopolitical developments in the fifteenth century resolved the issue for them. This chapter describes the choices open to the Hospitallers at Rhodes and how they dealt with them.

Although their core island order state in the Dodecanese was not finally completed until possibly as late as 1337 with the re-conquest of Kos, the Hospitallers had confronted choices before then.[1] The first one was probably easy. Having exchanged their Limassol headquarters in Cyprus for a new base in Rhodes, they demonstrated no desire to return there, given that their freedom of action to act independently had been seriously constrained by the Lusignan crown.[2] The Hospitallers had a similar approach to Cilician Armenia. They had numerous castles and estates there and may have for a short time considered attempting to consolidate their scattered holdings into a unitary mini-state, so frustrated were they with the situation in Cyprus. Given that so little is known about two seemingly sizeable Hospitaller expeditions to Cilicia between 1300 and 1305 led by the Master Guillaume de Villaret himself, it is impossible to discern whether their intent was merely to help the Armenian crown withstand its various internal or external enemies, or rather to carve out an independent or quasi-independent part of the country for themselves.[3] Whatever the reality, the state of affairs in the Armenian kingdom was even more unstable than in Cyprus, and the Hospitallers' decision to remain largely uninvolved was vindicated when the rump of the kingdom was conquered by the Mamluks in 1375. Raids on Mamluk territory by Hospitallers occurred periodically throughout the Rhodian period, usually jointly with allies, but there was no notable attempt to acquire permanent territory in the Levant.

It was a different matter with territory to the north of Rhodes. The Dodecanese islands had long had a relationship with the mainland opposite – it was effectively their hinterland, both politically and economically. That relationship had been

Figure 13.1 The Aegean in 1310

severely impacted by the Turkish conquests of the second half of the thirteenth century, which had driven the Byzantines to as far north as Ephesus. Whether acting opportunistically or not, Foulques de Villaret, the new master who had initiated the conquest of Rhodes in 1306, sought to reconnect the Turkish coastal areas with their offshore islands.[4] The extent of his conquests on the mainland is shrouded in mystery, but it seems that he managed by 1313 to take lands belonging to Masud, Emir of Menteşe, probably with the assistance of some of the Emir's own family.[5]

The sources are silent about the location of Hospitaller conquests on the Turkish mainland. Can references to castles controlled by the Hospitallers on the mainland help identify where the areas of conquest may have been? The sources regarding castles are fourfold. According to the contemporary *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, the Hospitallers 'reduced to their obedience several places in Turkey which gave them tribute'.[6] A text of the *Chronicle of the Deceased Masters* copied sometime between 1367 and 1383 reported that the Hospitallers captured from the Turks and held 'many castles in Turkey'.[7] An appeal issued from Rhodes on 14 May 1313 stated that 'given that [the] Hospital hold castles, towns and fortresses, taken by force from the schismatic Greeks and impious Turks', settlers were sought to inhabit places taken from Greeks and Turks 'both in the islands and on the mainland'.[8] The final reference was a comment by Ludolf de Sudheim, travelling in the east between 1336 and 1341, that the Hospital held 'a small and very powerful castle in Turkey', as well as exacting tribute.[9]

In attempting to identify these castles, I begin with the hypothesis that any occupied castles were on the Turkish coast rather than inland, as access for the Hospitallers would have been more difficult inland, and also that they were probably located somewhere between the Bodrum peninsula and the area around Kaş.[10] The evidence from the four quoted sources indicates that the castles, at least for the most part, already existed at the time of the Hospitaller conquest rather than being newly built. In general, whether a castle was Byzantine, Seljuk, Hospitaller, Menteşe or indeed Ottoman in origin is hard to prove, as styles can be very similar and improvements difficult to date.

An inspection has been conducted by me of many of the castles along the coastline between Simēna in the south and Iassos to the north of the Bodrum peninsula; the results are summarized as follows (Figure 13.2). Simēna, to the east of Kastellorizo, lies on a peninsula in a sheltered harbour; the visible remains of the castle, particularly the crenellations, appear to be Ottoman.[11] The castle of Kastellorizo, improved by the Hospitallers in the late fourteenth century, should not be ruled out of contention as one of their claimed mainland possessions, as although on an island, it is close enough to the Turkish mainland, just over 2km away, to be treated as such.[12] The area around the Gulf of Makri, now Fethiye, warrants further study (Figure 13.3). The castle at Makri appears to be mostly Komnenian in origin, to judge from the brickwork. There is a papal letter that refers to 250 merchants and others from Rhodes being taken prisoner in 1311 by the Emir of Menteşe somewhere in his lands.[13] The *beylik* of Menteşe had very few ports of any

Figure 13.2 The Hospitallers and the Turkish Mainland

Figure 13.3 The Gulf of Fethiye

significance, so could they have been taken captive at Makri? Could the large number of merchants and others from Rhodes have been gathered there because Makri was some sort of Hospitaller outpost at that time? And why was the island, now called Šovaliye or 'island of the knights', blocking access to the wide inner port of Makri, shown as an 'island of the *phreroi,* meaning brothers of the Saint John's order' in one late, medieval Greek portolan and as '*Palaio Rodos*' in another?[14] The island is fortified with three sets of small Komnenian defensive works and would have made, with its port, a marvellous base from which to extract tribute from the Turks settled around the Gulf of Makri.

Further along the coast towards Marmaris lies Kaunos, now inland, but formerly on the coast and known to the Hospitallers, because they stopped there on their way to Rhodes.[15] A Hellenistic and Roman town, it became an important Byzantine settlement with a powerful fortress on the site of the acropolis. The middle section of the walls shows signs of later repairs but it is impossible to tell whether these repairs are Hospitaller, Menteşe or Ottoman.[16] Its position would have made it easy for the Hospitallers to access and control the fortress and thus seek to oppose any Menteşe forces in the area. Also easy for the Hospitallers to occupy would have been a number of small, fortified islets adjacent to the Loryma peninsula opposite Rhodes, such as Müsgebi and Marmora, but a base on these tiny islands would not have been of strategic value.[17]

Far more useful would have been the area around the Bodrum peninsula. To date there is no archaeological evidence to suggest that Bodrum itself was fortified

Figure 13.4 Strobilos: the approach from the south
Photograph © Michael Heslop

before the Hospitallers erected a new fortress there in 1407/8, but the possibility cannot be excluded.[18] Of more relevance is the site at Strobilos, a cone-shaped hill dominating the passage between the peninsula and the island of Kos. Foss believes that the style of the building favours a fourteenth-century Menteşe origin (Figure 13.4).[19] Nevertheless, Çelebi, an Ottoman traveller writing in 1670, repeated the story that 'formerly the infidels of Malta took it [Strobilos] from the control of Venice and ruined it. Afterwards the House of Menteşe conquered it and made it prosperous'.[20] A further site at the tip of the peninsula, however, namely Kadi Kalesi, is the one most likely to have been built by the Hospitallers. Overlooking the channel between the mainland and Kalymnos, Foss believes that 'its fine ashlar bears a greater resemblance to the walls of Bodrum or Cos, than to any other medieval remains in the vicinity' (Figure 13.5).[21]

My conclusions from this brief survey are that the island of Šovaliye and possibly the town of Makri are the most probable locations for occupation by the Hospitallers on the south Turkish coast, together with Kaunos. Kadi Kalesi, however, is the most promising site for a castle actually built by the Hospitallers if there was one, given its strategic location opposite Kos, and Strobilos could well have been garrisoned while Kadi Kalesi was being built. Whatever the truth, it is possible

Figure 13.5 Kadi Kalesi: a bastion
Photograph © Michael Heslop

that any occupation was short-lived, and that all the castles, with the exception of Kadi Kalesi, may have been quickly recovered by Masud.

To the southwest of the Hospitallers' core island state lay the islands of Karpathos and Kasos, natural targets for control by the Hospitallers, as they had formed an integral part of the Byzantine islands governed from Rhodes; beyond them was the Venetian island of Crete. The Hospitallers had not enjoyed an easy relationship with the Venetians in the Dodecanese, competing with them for possession of the island of Kos following their acquisition of Rhodes.[22] Karpathos and Kasos had been seized from the Byzantines by Andrea Cornaro, a Venetian landowner in Crete, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Hospitallers opportunistically took advantage of his absence in the autumn of 1313 to occupy the islands.[23] Venice strongly supported Cornaro; ensuing arbitration proceedings resulted in the return of the islands to Cornaro by the summer of 1316.[24]

Relations with the Sanudo Duchy of the Archipelago to the west of the Dodecanese, seem to have been much smoother from the start of Hospitaller rule in Rhodes and their other islands. Indeed Duke Guglielmo and his son Niccolò Sanudo were recorded as assisting the Hospitallers to victory in one of their battles with the Turks about 1309/1310.[25] Eventually, in 1452, the Hospitallers were given a *domus* and subsequently established a commandery in Naxos.[26] Controversy has focused on whether the Hospitallers extended their island realm by controlling the Aegean island of Delos for a while which, being adjacent to Tinos and Mykonos,

was nominally under the rule of the Venetian Ghisi family. This, however, seems extremely improbable.[27]

By the 1350s (Figure 13.6), the geopolitical scenery of the Aegean was such that any attempt by the Hospitallers to expand their core island state in the immediate vicinity would have run into opposition from the Turkish *beyliks* holding the coastal regions to the north east, from the Genoese holding the islands of Chios, Samos and Ikaria, preventing any move northwards, and from the Venetians who dominated the regions to the southwest and west. It seems that the Hospitallers on Rhodes, or at least a substantial section, were nevertheless determined to seek territorial acquisitions, given what they presumably saw as serious problems with continuing to use the island of Rhodes as their headquarters. For with the continued dismemberment of Cilician Armenia and the descent of Cyprus into factional strife, Rhodes was becoming increasingly remote and marginal to the main area of confrontation with the Turks in the Balkans. In addition, the island and its dependencies were not self-supporting and consequently expensive to maintain. Even Pope Innocent VI had ordered the Hospitallers to move their base from Rhodes to the Turkish mainland in 1354, conceivably because Rhodes was no longer seen as being in the front line; the instruction was rejected.[28] Attention was increasingly focused on the Peloponnese, where the Latin entities were struggling to contain growing Byzantine power, as well as incursions by Catalans and Turks.[29] The Hospitallers had held land in the Morea since the time fiefs had been allocated by Geoffroy I de Villehardouin about 1210;[30] these holdings had been augmented

Figure 13.6 The Aegean *c*.1350

by Templar properties granted to the Hospital in 1312.[31] By the 1350s, the Latin principality of Achaea, the major portion of the Morea, was ruled through a *bailli* by the absentee Angevins from Naples, while the local Frankish nobility had lost much of their power.[32] For the Hospitallers, however, the Peloponnese could have been perceived as a more important base than Rhodes, as it was geographically closer to the Papacy and Hospitaller estates in western Europe, possessed richer agricultural and manpower resources and was subject to frequent Turkish attacks, unlike Rhodes (Figure 13.7). Secret plans to establish a foothold there, which would have been a sensible initial step, did not materialize in 1356/1357,[33] though twenty years later in June 1377 the Hospitallers agreed to lease the whole of the principality of Achaea from Queen Joanna of Naples for five years.[34]

Leasing the principality was a tremendous financial undertaking for the Hospitallers, which could possibly be justified only if accompanied by the eventual transfer of the Order to the Morea, along with the Convent.[35] The agreement

Figure 13.7 Mainland Greece in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

presumably included the commitment to provide garrisons for all sixteen of the queen's fortresses in the principality, ranging from Clarentza (Chiarenza) in the north to *la terre de Mayna* in the south, in addition to the need to continue to hold the Order's own two castles.[36] This undertaking necessitated the hiring of Latin mercenaries, and although all seemed to go well at first,[37] a band of the mercenaries, the Navarrese, had mutinied by 1381. Faced with a loss of control, the Hospitallers were effectively compelled to hand the territory back to the Angevins that same year. Their interest in the Peloponnese did not cease, however, for in the middle 1380s, Master Juan Fernández de Heredia, again looked at intervention on behalf of the Latins.[38] Ironically, when they did return it was in alliance with the Byzantines: the Order had negotiated an arrangement with the Byzantine despot of Mistra to occupy Corinth in the second half of 1397 and then the whole of the Despotate by November 1400. Although the Hospitaller presence at Corinth kept the Turks at bay, their presence elsewhere in the Despotate caused problems with the local Greek population; eventually this situation led to their departure from Corinth in June 1404.[39]

It seems that by October 1402 some strategic reassessment had occurred, for a document from that date tells how the Hospitaller Council agreed, after a full debate, to prioritize the defence of Rhodes (and the Order's other islands) plus Smyrna, over continued involvement in the Peloponnese.[40] Smyrna had been captured by a Latin naval league in October 1344; in 1374 Pope Gregory XI had handed full responsibility for its defence over to the Hospitallers. Although expensive to maintain, its possession enabled the Hospitallers to propound the proposition that they were helping to defend the front line of Christendom against the Turks. The loss of Smyrna to Timur in December 1402 meant that the Hospitallers were obliged to consider a replacement; this objective presumably accounted for their prolonged attempt (December 1402–1404) to maintain a foothold in both the Peloponnese and the Greek mainland in the area around Galaxeidi. Withdrawal from both areas was followed by an unsuccessful request to the Venetians in 1405 to garrison the small strategic island of Tenedos at the entrance to the Dardanelles.[41] Clearly struggling at this point to find a suitable location recognized to be on the front line, Master de Naillac, even started in 1406 to build a great tower at Smyrna, though this was demolished by Mehmet I. Eventually Mehmet agreed to permit the construction of a castle at Bodrum, and the Hospitallers once again had a possession in a theoretical conflict zone that they could point to for fund-raising and propaganda purposes.[42] But the fact that the Ottomans allowed the building of this new Hospitaller fortification suggests that they did not see Bodrum posing a threat to their interests.

The master's lieutenant and the Convent became so unhappy with papal interference in their affairs that they threatened to leave their Rhodian base in 1410.[43] In 1423 an attempt was made to exchange Rhodes for the Venetian island of Euboea or somewhere in the Morea.[44] Thereafter, however, the Hospitallers' behaviour tends to underpin the view that Rhodes with the masters now residing there, despite its disadvantages, did provide a logical base at a time when the Aegean was steadily becoming an Ottoman lake. In any case, where else could they go by

then? Although Mamluk attacks were repulsed in 1440 and 1444, the Hospitallers began increasingly to fear Ottoman assaults; ideas of territorial aggrandizement evaporated. The need to help fund the papal commissioned Christian fleet in 1456/1457 as it operated in the Aegean was met with complaints by Master, Jacques de Milly.[45] The Hospitallers went on to reject a plea from the inhabitants of Ikaria in 1481 for their island to become part of the Hospitaller state;[46] in 1501 Pierre d'Aubusson evaded joining a coalition of western powers seeking to conquer Lesbos.[47]

A glance at the map of the Aegean *c*.1480 (Figure 13.8) shows why the Hospitallers were forced to show restraint. The Latin states in mainland Greece had all been acquired by the Ottomans, with the exception of a few small Venetian territories. The Aegean was dominated by the Ottomans; only the diversity of Ottoman war objectives in 1480 allowed the Hospitallers to survive the siege of Rhodes town in that year. The disadvantages of their position there became more readily apparent as time went on, although the flight of Sultan Bayezid II's brother, Djem, to Rhodes in 1482 kept the Ottomans in check until 1495. Thereafter it was only a matter of time before the Ottomans attacked Rhodes again, which they did in 1522, having eliminated the Mamluk threat in 1517. By that time Rhodes was so remote from mainstream thinking in the west about how to deal with the Turks that effectively no aid was forthcoming.[48] So the Hospitallers were fortunate to be given a new home in Malta; any dreams of mainland territory, apart from the Tripoli interlude, were destined to remain just that.

Figure 13.8 The Aegean in 1480

Notes

1 M. Heslop, 'The Search for the Defensive System of the Knights in the Dodecanese (Part II: Leros, Kalymnos, Kos and Bodrum)', in *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military Orders*, ed. M. Piana & C. Carlsson (Farnham, 2014), pp. 29–67, discusses the repeated conquest and loss of Kos, as well as the early loss and recovery of both Leros and Kalymnos.

2 King Henry II, for instance, refused to let the Hospitallers arm their galleys in 1306: *CH*, 4727–8.

3 What little is known is mentioned by Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Interventions in Cilician Armenia: 1291–1375', in *The Cicilian Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T.S.R. Boase (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 116–44, here at p. 123. M.-A. Chevalier, *Les ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cicilienne* (Paris, 2009), p. 570, repeats Luttrell's source information.

4 There may have been some analogy with the Zaccaria conquests on the Turkish mainland coast opposite Chios; these were described as a 'defensive shield' by William of Adam, *How to defeat the Saracens*, ed. & trans. G. Constable (Dumbarton Oaks, 2012), pp. 52–3.

5 According to Marino Sanudo Torsello, Villaret reduced Masud 'to nothing': *Istoria del Regno di Romania* in C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédits ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), p. 167; E. Papadopoulou, *Istoria di Romania* (Athens, 2000), p. 209.

6 L. Minervini, ed., *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*: *(1243–1314)* (Naples, 2000), p. 330.

7 The relevant portion of the chronicle is published by A. Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306–1356* (Rhodes, 2003), p. 189.

8 Text is in A. Luttrell, 'Feudal tenure and Latin colonization at Rhodes 1306–1415', *English Historical Review*, 85 (1970), 771–3; repr. in *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1978) [hereafter Luttrell 1978], III.

9 Ludolphus de Suchem, *De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, ed. F. Deycks (Stuttgart, 1851), p. 27.

10 The *beylik* of Menteşe is considered to have included most of this coastline, extending from around Milas in the north up to and including Makri in the south. But the coast from Makri to around Kaş should certainly not be excluded from consideration.

11 Although local legend claims that the castle was built by the Hospitallers.

12 The island had been occupied by the Hospitallers for about a month in 1306 on their way to conquer Rhodes: R. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi* (Paris, 1891), p. 256, repr. Nicosia 1999, entitled *Cronaca di Ciprio*, [hereafter Amadi]. Kastellorizo might have remained in their continuous possession before the first, conclusive reference in 1381: A. Luttrell, 'Intrigue, Schism, and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384', *Speculum*, 41 (1966), 36; repr. Luttrell 1978, XXIII.

13 The letter, dated 26 November 1311, is contained in *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, ed. Monks of the Order of St Benedict, 10 vols (Rome, 1885–92), VII, doc. 7631, pp. 5–7.

14 A. Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs* (Liège & Paris, 1947), p. 252 and A. Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1958), p. 25.

15 Amadi, p. 256, mentioned '*l'isola della Guilla*', Kaunos being described as an island at that time. The island was known as *Guia, Laguis, Laui(l)a and Aguija* on late medieval naval maps: see H. Hellenkamper and F. Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8, Lykien und Pamphylien*, 3 vols (Vienna, 2004), II, p. 616.

16 Hellenkamper-Hild, *Tabula,* p. 619.

17 See F. Hild, 'Stadia und Tracheia in Karien', in *Byzantina Mediterranea*, ed. K. Belke, E. Kislinger, A. Kuelzer and M. A. Stassinopoulou (Vienna, 2007), pp. 231–43, for details of such fortified places.

18 A. Luttrell, *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos*, vol. 2, part II: *The Written Sources and their Archaeological Background – The Later History of the Maussolleion and its Utilization in the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum* (Aarhus, 1986), p. 148.

19 See C. Foss, 'Strobilos and Related Sites', *Anatolian Studies*, 38 (1988), 159–64; repr. in *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor*, ed. C. Foss (Aldershot, 1990), XII.

20 Foss, 'Strobilos', 157. The Venetians could possibly have occupied the castle when they were seeking to control the island of Kos at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

21 Foss, 'Strobilos', 173. Newton had earlier observed that 'from the regularity of the work, it is probably the remains of a small castle built by the Knights of Rhodes': C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnasus, Cnidus and Brancidae*, 2 vols (London, 1865), II, p. 579. There is no sign of any Hospitaller work at Iassos, positioned at the northern extremity of the Menteşe *beylik*, but it would have been a natural point for occupation, being a peninsula.

22 The relationship has been surveyed by A. Luttrell, 'Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the Fourteenth Century', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 26 (1958), 195–212; repr. in Luttrell, 1978, V.

23 Several commentators have suggested that the Hospitallers left monumental remains on Karpathos, such as the church of Panaghia Mertinitissa, but these claims, based upon my personal inspection, seem to be without any merit. Of more interest is the fact that the capital of Karpathos, Volada, had a Turkish name, namely Erzę Chore, according to a 1307 document described by Rudolf Pokorny in 'Ein Herrschaftsvertrag mit Rücktrittsrecht der Untertanen: Karpathos, 1307', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 101 (2008), 155–68. The Turkish name was repeated in a map of the island, dating to the middle of the seventeenth century, drawn by Sejjid Nûh; perhaps Turkish settlement in the Dodecanese at the beginning of the fourteenth century was more widespread than has been commonly acknowledged?

24 The Hospitallers' negotiating strategy was severely compromised by the fact that they held important bank deposits in Venice; see A. Luttrell, 'The Genoese at Rhodes: 1306–1312', in *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi in Onore di Geo Pistarino*, ed. L. Balletto, vol. 2 (Acqui Terme, 1997), pp. 737–61; repr. in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1999), I. Additional information is provided by G. Saint-Guillain, 'L'archipel des seigneurs. Pouvoirs, société et insularité dans les Cyclades à l'époque de la domination latine (XIIIe–XVe siècle)', unpublished doctoral dissertation (Paris, 2003), pp. 236–40, including the comment that Cornaro was said to have complained that the islands had been taken from him by the '*sujets*' of Foulques de Villaret.

25 The event is mentioned in a letter written by Marino Sanudo Torsello in 1334, see F. Kunstman, 'Studien über Marino Sanudo Torsello den Älteren', *Abhandlungen der historisch. Classe der Königl. Bayerisch. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 7 (1855), 808–13.

26 Francesca Crispo, duchess of Naxos, gave the *domus* of Saint Anthony to the Hospitallers in 1452 and it became the seat of a commandery: Z. N. Tsirpanlis, *Anekdota eggrapha gia te Rhodo kai tis Noties Sporades apo to archeio ton Ioanniton Ippoton* [*Unpublished Documents Concerning Rhodes and the South-Eastern Aegean Islands from the Archives of St John*], vol. 1: *1421–1453* (Rhodes, 1995), pp. 624–7.

27 The initial evidence for a Hospitaller occupation of Delos arises in John Kantakouzenos's account of a Latin attack on Byzantine Chios in autumn 1329. He writes that 'at last, the Romans did not lose Chios, against which many intrigued, both from nearby and afar, and especially the Hospitallers of Delos.' Writing of a Hospitaller-Latin attack on Byzantine Lesbos in 1335, Kantakouzenos writes of 'the Delians' providing five ships, but then refusing to fight against the Emperor Andronicus III and returning 'by sea to Delos': Ioannes Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–1832), Book II, p. 380, ll. 12–16; p. 476, ll. 8–10; p. 477, ll. 15–16; p. 478, ll. 17–19; p. 485, ll. 120–1. In contrast, Nikephoros Gregoras, the only other Byzantine historian to write about the attack on Lesbos, does not refer to the Hospitallers as Delians but as Rhodians: Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, 2 vols (Bonn, 1829–1830), I, p. 526. Some scholars have supported the notion that the Hospitallers occupied Delos for a period lasting from at least 1329–1335: L. Delobette and

J.-C. Moretti, 'Délos Hospitalière', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 113 (1989), 421–9, suggested that an incomplete inscription refers to Raymond Bérenger, master of the Order from 1365–1374 and A. Orlandos seems to have been the first authority to propose that Delos was occupied by a detachment of the Order: 'Délos chrétienne', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 60 (1936), 70. The reality is that Kantakouzenos was writing some thirty years after the events he describes and was not averse to changing history to suit his persuasion. So, if he really meant the reader to assume that 'the Delians' in 1335 were the same people as 'the Hospitallers of Delos' in 1329, what was he trying to accomplish? As Saint-Guillain has shown, however, a misinterpretation by Schopen may mean that the 1329 reference is to a group of mendicants or *phreroi* rather than Hospitaller *frères* (Saint-Guillain, *L'archipel des seigneurs*, pp. 276–8). If this is the case, it makes it more likely that the 1335 reference to 'the Delians' is a reference to both the Hospitallers and the Duke of the Archipelago, with the Duke being the head of the Delians. As such, the account by Gregoras is likely to be more accurate than Kantakouzenos.

28 J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes (1310–1421)* (Paris, 1913; repr. Aldershot, 1974), p. 126. An earlier pope, Clement VI, had threatened in 1343 to take at least part of their possessions to create a new military order: A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers of Rhodes Confront the Turks, 1306–1421', in *Christians, Jews and Other Worlds: Patterns of Conflict and Accommodation*, ed. P. F. Gallagher (Lanham,1988), pp. 80–116; repr. in *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1992), II.

29 Byzantine headway had been originated by the settlement of 1262 which surrendered most of Lakonia to them as the price for Guillaume II Villehardouin's freedom from imprisonment in Constantinople.

30 The Chronicle of the Morea recounts how the three major military orders, namely the Hospitallers, Templars and Teutonic Knights, were each given four knights' fees, but the location of the award to the Hospitallers remains unknown at present, though the area around Modon (Methoni) is considered to be a possibility: J. Schmitt, ed., *To Chronikon tou Moreos* (London, 1904), p. 132 (ll.1951–4).

31 See P. Lock, 'The Military Orders in Mainland Greece', *MO* 1, p. 337, for a discussion of this transition.

32 Walter Haberstumpf describes how the feudal nobility's power was eroded: W. Haberstumpf, 'La dissoluzione delle signorie latine in Morea di fronte alla turcocrazia', *Studi Veneziani*, 28 (1997), 61–81.

33 The discussions with Robert of Taranto, the Angevin ruler, were sponsored by pope Innocent VI. A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421', in *HC*, III, p. 297 n. 40, cites the source; repr. Luttrell 1978, I.

34 A. Morel-Fatio, ed., *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea* (Geneva, 1885), p. 159, para. 724.

35 It could also be argued that, despite having first-hand knowledge of the Peloponnese through their local commandery there, Hospitaller tactics at this time were seriously flawed given the ill-fated *passagium* to Epirus which followed the signing of the lease and ended with the capture of Master Juan Fernández de Heredia.

36 These latter castles, namely Palaiopolis (Paleopuli) and Phostena (Fustena), had originally belonged to the Templars; see A. Luttrell, 'The Principality of Achaea in 1377', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 57 (1964), 340–5 (repr. in Luttrell 1978, XII), for the list of the queen's castles.

37 Based upon Aldo Baroncelli's letter dated 15 December 1379, included as document X in J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1969), pp. 193–8.

38 A. Luttrell, 'La Corona de Aragón y la Grecia catalana: 1379–1394', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 6 (1969), 244–7, repr. in *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades 1291–1440*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1982), XI.

39 The Hospitallers had also attempted to intervene in 1403 to the north of the Gulf of Corinth around Galaxeidi, but the enterprise also met resistance from the local Greek inhabitants and was abandoned in 1405: see A. Luttrell and E. A. Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive 1389–1422* (Athens, 2008), pp. 62–3, 104.
40 The document is reproduced in ibid., pp. 131–2, with a commentary on p. 101.
41 The Venetians rejected the proposal on 21 September 1405. The Hospitallers may also have sought to purchase Alaya (Alanya), situated on the Turkish southern coast, at about the same time; see A. Luttrell, 'Emmanuele Piloti and Criticism of the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes, 1306–1444', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte*, 20 (1962), 15; repr. in Luttrell 1978, XXIV.
42 Luttrell-Zachariadou, *Sources*, pp. 68–71.
43 Ibid., p. 110.
44 N. Iorga, 'Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle', *ROL,* 5 (1897), p. 139.
45 R. Valentini, 'L'Egeo dopo la caduta do Costantinopoli nelle relazioni dei Gran Maestri di Rodi', *Bulletino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivo muratoriano*, 51 (1936), 164–8.
46 N. Vatin, 'Deux îles a la dérive: Samos et Icaria entre 1475 et 1572', in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. C. Heywood and C. Imber (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 339–49, explains what happened.
47 N. Vatin, 'Le siège de Mytilene', *Analecta Isisiana*, 40 (2001), 9–29, provides the background to this event. The Hospitallers were reluctant to join the coalition because they wanted to avoid war with the Ottomans.
48 England, France and the empire were at war in 1522; it is also true that Rhodes continued to provide a base for numerous crusading leagues and fleets aimed at various objectives, the last being in 1520. Nevertheless crusading theorists did not see Rhodes as the starting point of any attempt to drive the Ottomans out of Europe.

14 A culture of consensus

The Hospitallers at Rhodes in the fifteenth century (1420–1480)

Pierre Bonneaud

After their forced departure from Acre in 1291 and a few years spent in Cyprus, the Hospitallers conquered Byzantine Rhodes and several Dodecanese islands between 1306 and 1310 with the full backing of Pope Clement V. Master Foulques de Villaret convinced the pope that these islands would give the Roman Church a military base from which to confront the Turks of Anatolia as well as the Mamluks of Egypt, and ultimately to recover Jerusalem. The master and the convent then established their residence in Rhodes, very close to the coast of Southern Anatolia. The convent on Rhodes was not conceived of as a place where the Hospitallers were expected to lead a monastic type of religious life.[1] In fact the term 'convent' covered both the multinational community of brethren present in Rhodes and the brethren assigned to the Order's galleys or to the nearby fortress of St Peter's castle at Bodrum on the Turkish coast and to nearby islands like Cos and Nyssiros. The convent, in close association with the master, was also seen as the government centre of the entire Order with its two different functions, jurisdiction over its network of priories and commanderies, mostly located in Western Europe, and exercise of the full powers of an independent state in the Eastern Mediterranean, often described by historians as an *Ordenstaat* not dissimilar to that created in Prussia by the Teutonic Order.[2]

What might be called a culture of consensus had prevailed before the conquest of Rhodes in the system of collective government of the Order as well as in the rules and customs regulating the relationship between brethren at the convent. As early as 1168, the master's powers were shared with the community of brethren at the convent and the Order's high officials meeting in the master's chapter.[3] This situation was due in part to the conflicts between the convent's officials and the Masters Gilbert d'Assailly and Alfonso of Portugal, both of whom were forced to resign in 1170 and 1206 respectively, following allegations of misuse of power.[4] At the chapter general at Margat (*c*. 1204–1206), it was decreed that upon his election the master had to swear to observe the statutes and customs of the Hospital as well as to seek and follow the advice and consent of the convent in his conduct of the Order's affairs. By 1303, the *Usances* allowed brethren to disobey the master if his orders infringed the rule or the statutes and customs of the Hospital. Their claims would then be referred to the *Esgard,* the Order's court of arbitration.[5] From perhaps 1206 onwards chapters general were summoned at irregular intervals. They

were attended by brethren from the Levant and from the Western priories who took or confirmed all major decisions concerning the Order and who exercised legislative authority by issuing statutes, ordinances and other regulations.

Operating in such a framework made striving for consensus indispensable and an overriding principle, in spite of the conflicts which did on occasions rattle the convent in Palestine, Cyprus and Rhodes. The purpose of the present study is to examine to what measure a culture of consensus prevailed among the Hospitallers in Rhodes in face of the imminent danger posed first by the Mamluks and then, from 1420 to 1480, by the Ottomans.

As a consequence of the papal schism and the long absences of both Master Juan Fernandez de Heredia (absent from 1382 to 1396) and Master Philibert de Naillac (absent from 1409 to 1420), the Hospitaller convent of Rhodes, which was almost deserted and suffering from lack of funds, was governed by the Order's lieutenants and some high officials.[6] It was necessary to reform the convent. A chapter general was convened by Philibert de Naillac in Rhodes in 1420. More knights and new blood were needed to strengthen the Hospital's position in the Eastern Mediterranean. After the crusaders' defeat by the Ottomans at Nicopolis in 1396, and with the armament of a Mamluk fleet by Sultan Barsbey, further conflicts in the Mediterranean seemed unavoidable.[7]

Following the Mamluks' invasion of Cyprus, in 1426, the Hospitallers of Rhodes had been subjected to numerous attacks and sieges, first in 1440 and again in1444 by the Mamluks, and then, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, by the Ottomans who conducted a number of raids on various Dodecanese islands.[8] In 1480 the Hospitallers managed to repel a major siege of Rhodes. For the first time since their conquest of the island the Hospitallers saw themselves under existential threat from an enemy superior in numbers and resources. It was that enemy who would finally oust them from the Eastern Mediterranean in 1522.

Gathering the support of large numbers of brothers who were prepared to fight and willing to remain in the Eastern Mediterranean was, therefore, a matter of priority for the Rhodes convent. Writing in the fourteenth century, Philippe de Mézières regarded it as scandalous that knights came to Rhodes for only short visits, as a way of securing for themselves the command over a rich commandery in Europe.[9] After 1420 a longer presence at the convent was required before a commission to a commandery (first as *cabimentum* then as *melioramenta*) could be obtained. Time spent at the convent (*ancianitas*), counted from the first day of arrival in Rhodes, became one measurement for successful career advancement.[10] From 1420 onwards, the masters retained permanent residency at the convent. Likewise, many brethren, commanders and other high officials now spent more years in the Levant than before. Meanwhile, their commanderies in the West were administered by close relatives or farmed out to laymen.

In 1459 the chapter general fixed the number of Hospitallers expected to remain at the convent or in the fortresses of Bodrum and Cos as a defensive force against the Ottomans at 335. In 1466 the number was increased to 350 and in 1471 (confirmed in 1475) to 450, 85 per cent of whom had to be knights.[11] The proportionate number of French brothers (once the dominant group) among the newcomers

diminished whereas the number of Spanish brothers increased from around forty in 1430 to ninety-six in 1461 and that of Italians from fifteen to forty-seven. The number of brothers from Germany and the British isles rarely exceeded twenty.[12] In order to keep the brothers united and prepared for battle, government of the convent required reliance on a fragile balance between firm and decisive leadership on the one hand and general consensus across a multinational and ethnically diverse community (including a fair number of young and often troublesome newcomers) on the other.

This necessary consensus was reached, in the first instance, through increased empowerment of the *Langues*. The *Langue* was an organizational category within the convent that allowed for the segregation of the diverse body of brothers into separate (initially seven, later eight) corporations according to their regional origins and the Western priories to which they belonged. Each of these corporations had its own property and independent income and was run by its own set of officials, the chief official being the *Pillerius* (generally one of the conventual bailiffs sitting at the master's council).[13] Members of each *Langue* were allowed to elect their own *proctors*, whose responsibility it was to defend the corporation's interests. The *auberges* of each *Langue*, the places where the brethren met, ate and, occasionally, lodged, were subsidized through the Order's treasury. After 1420, meetings at the *auberges* became more frequent (although they were still subject to authorization by the master), and members of the *Langues* were given the right to make important decisions, for example, declaring the ranks of *ancianitas*, putting forward candidates for senior offices and intervening in military matters such as the participation of their members in *caravana*, which by then meant service in the Order's fleet or fortified outposts.[14] In 1465 each *Langue* was made responsible for defending its own sector of the town of Rhodes' ramparts.[15] Although disputes between and conflicts among the membership of different *Langues* occurred frequently, consensual decisions were often possible.[16]

These corporations were deeply divided among themselves, however. The three French *Langues* (Auvergne, Provence and France) had dominated the Order during the convent's residency in Palestine and in Rhodes itself during the fourteenth century. The four so-called 'minor' *Langues* (Spain, Italy, England and Germany) had challenged the dominant role played by the French and, as a consequence, managed to increase their authority from the end of the fourteenth century onwards by securing such important rights as, for example, equal access to the commandery of Cyprus.[17] The election of the Catalan Antoni de Fluvià as a non-French master in 1421 and the recognition in 1428 of the German *Langue*'s right to have its own conventual bailiff sit at the master's council were important further steps in that direction. But the minor *Langues* wanted full recognition of equal rights and a voice in the government of the Order. This was achieved after a long process marked by bitter quarrels which focused mainly on financial affairs.

Finances were entrusted to the grand commander, that is to say the conventual bailiff of the *Langue* of Provence. He was assisted by the treasurer who belonged to the *Langue* of France.[18] The minor *Langues* demanded a share in the management of the treasury. In 1440, under Master Jean de Lastic, they obtained from the

chapter general the right to institute two bailiffs – *probi homines* from different *Langues* – who were to be appointed by the master and his council for one year and would participate alongside the grand commander in the administration of the treasury. The bailiffs had to deliver a statement of the financial accounts at the end of each term.[19] During the Rome chapter general of 1446, called by Pope Eugene IV to deal with the Order's abysmal debts following the 1444 siege of Rhodes by the Mamluks, the minor *Langues*, which were already highly critical of Lastic, violently clashed with the French *Langues*. Although their opposition was backed by Eugene IV, the pope's death in 1447 meant that the advantages they managed to gain from the conflict were not ratified.[20] The next chapter in Rhodes in 1449 stipulated that the master and his *consilium completum* were to elect for the duration of five years a *conservator generalis* from among the members of all *Langues*. This new official was to be put in charge of accounting the monetary and other assets of the treasury and would, at the end of his tenure, be replaced by a brother from another *Langue*.[21] The same chapter general also ratified the creation of a college of seven members, one from each *Langue*, to oversee the auditing of the accounts.[22] The prerogatives of the French grand commander and treasurer were not suppressed altogether, but the adjunction of two proctors, a general conservator and seven auditors, forced consensus among the *Langues* upon the management of financial matters.

The *Langues* also received equal say in other matters, for example in the election of brothers in charge of inspecting the estates of the convent's churches (1454) and the infirmary's estates (1440), as well as in assessing the value of the *spolia* of bailiffs and priors who had died in Rhodes (1471).[23] However, disagreements and acrimonious debates among the *Langues* continued to occur during the chapter meetings, especially under the mastership of Jacques de Milly, in 1459. Harmonious relations were finally established under Master Pere Ramon Sacosta at the chapter general of 1462, when the existing *Langues* agreed on splitting the *Langue* of Spain into two separate *Langues*.[24] Although the image of a consensual government was tarnished by these conflicts, they may have been necessary steps toward a stable agreement.

In the meantime, collective systems of government were reinforced and improved to reflect the increased involvement of the *Langues*. Chapters general were called and assembled more frequently. In 1420 the interval between chapters was fixed at five years and the rhythm, once established, was maintained for the next sixty years during which time twelve chapters took place.[25] Participants in these chapters, usually about eighty in number, fell into two almost equal camps.[26] The first included Hospitallers who resided in Rhodes: the master and his lieutenant and all the high officials on the master's council, eight *proctors* elected by the *Langues* and finally, about ten brothers who were appointed by the master but who had to be chosen among all *Langues*. The second group was composed of delegates who had been summoned to Rhodes from the European priories and capitular bailiwicks, for example priors, capitular bailiffs and commanders. The receivers of the treasury who had been appointed by the master in every priory were also summoned to the chapters general.

Most of these Hospitallers took part in the preliminary debates on important business. Then a college of sixteen brothers (two members from each *Langue*) was elected and entrusted with the task of issuing statutes in closed hearings.[27] The decisions of these representatives were mandatory and challenging them was strictly forbidden.[28] This system of using delegates proved highly efficient and resulted in an impressive number of new chapter statutes in this sixty-year period.

In 1471, the official duration of the chapter meeting was extended from ten to fifteen working days.[29] While the sixteen *capitulares* were working on the statutes, the master and other members of the assembly dealt with other pressing business including financial matters, matters of defence and career appointments to main offices. Thanks to the frequency of these meetings, the careful mix of those who attended them and the importance given to procedure, consensus at chapters general was always a desired possibility.

During the intervals between chapters general, the responsibility for collective decision-making fell to two councils presided over by the master or his lieutenant. The so-called ordinary council was the older of the two. It consisted of between fifteen and twenty members, including all eight conventual bailiffs, each of them from a different *Langue*. The grand commander was attributed to Provence, the marshal to Auvergne, the hospitaller to France, the admiral to Italy, the draper to Spain (after 1462 meaning Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre) the turcopolier to England, the grand bailiff to Germany and, after 1462, the chancellor to Castile and Portugal. In addition, the council included the prior of the conventual church, the seneschal, and the treasurer, as well as all priors and capitular bailiffs then residing on Rhodes at the time. The 1466 chapter general of Rome adopted additional statutes aimed at increasing impartiality and transparency in the council:[30] all important decisions including appointments to the Order's main offices now required a secret ballot. If a quarter of the bailiffs and priors voted against a decision, the matter was carried over to the complete council. All debates and decisions of the council were published in a special *liber consiliorum*, which does, in fact, date back to 1454. Another statute, issued in 1471, was intended to foster further consensus among the members of the councils, by demanding *moderacio* in their meetings. Anyone who could not manage to listen to the opinions of others in silence was asked to leave the council.[31]

The complete council (*consilium completum*) is well documented as active in 1449 but was probably older than that. It counted between thirty-five and forty members, including sixteen proctors of the *Langues* and all members of the ordinary council.[32] It did not meet at fixed intervals but whenever it was thought necessary, for example when consensus was not reached at the ordinary council or when important issues needed urgent attention. Among its tasks was the preparation of chapters general. Together with the master it also decided on all proposals which had not been examined for lack of time during the regular chapter period.[33] The complete council shared in the appointment of candidates to some of the Order's high offices on Rhodes (a privilege hitherto reserved to the master) including the bailiwick of *commercium* and the castellan of Rhodes, and it elected financial officials such as the conservator general and two *proctors* of the treasury from among the membership

of all *Langues*.[34] The 1466 chapter general furthermore decreed that the complete council should share with the master the right to grant licences of leave from the convent to bailiffs and priors.[35] The complete council, with strong representation of the *Langues* through their *proctors*, thus had developed into a major governing body for consensual decisions when chapter generals were not in session.

In spite of these opportunities for consensual agreement, disagreements between masters and their high officials or with other members of the *Langues* at the councils did occur. The deposition of Master Foulques de Villaret by the convent in 1317 can be seen as evidence of the convent's power over the master as well as the Order's characteristic form of collective government already commented on by the lawyer Odoardo de Ponte.[36]

But the importance of the master should not be underestimated. His personal power derived from the fact that his election as the Order's highest authority was for life and generally the result of years of experience in the conduct of the Order's affairs. He presided over all councils and had influence in all decisions. His court at the master's palace, his household and his companions were all attributes of his rank. As lord of the island of Rhodes, the master also had his own income, which in 1466 was estimated at 17,800 florins annually.[37] He received taxes and handed out lands, farms and gardens to brothers of his choice as well as to secular people. And because Rhodes and the islands constituted a sovereign state, subject only to the pope's authority, the master exercised the rights and privileges of chief of state, including the rights to issue coinage, administer justice and conduct foreign affairs.

Two major conflicts occurred between the convent and the master, the first in 1445–1446, under the mastership of Jean de Lastic, and the second in 1466, under the mastership of Pere Ramón Sacosta. In both cases the main reason was the Order's colossal debt combined with a financial crisis provoked by the island's expensive defence.[38] After the siege of Rhodes by the Mamluks in 1444 the Order was 100,000 ducats of Rhodes (or 160,000 florins of Rhodes) in debt, having spent 68,000 ducats on mercenaries alone. Twenty years later, the debts had increased to 287,929 ecus of France (575,858 florins of Rhodes) or ten times the sum of the convent's annual expenses. Both masters were blamed for having misused treasury funds and for imposing heavy *annates* on the commanderies, the latter amounting in 1462 (under Sacosta) to three full years' income.[39]

There were other reasons for the discord between these two masters and the convent. Lastic's leadership was authoritarian and arbitrary to the extent that he even had Jean de Cavaillon, the grand commander, imprisoned and tortured on the false accusation of having stolen valuables from the conventual church of Saint John.[40] The pope disavowed Lastic and in 1446 a chapter general was convened in Rome, which the master did not attend. The chapter was presided over by the priors of France and England and by the castellan of Amposta, Pere Ramón Sacosta, one of Lastic's main opponents and future master of the Order. Although the chapter started with acrimonious quarrels among the *Langues*, a commission of twenty-four brothers was convened at the instigation of Pope Eugene IV to work on reforming and compiling the statutes. However, after the death of the pope their work was not accepted by the convent in Rhodes.[41]

Sacosta, who had been elected master in 1461, met with opposition in the convent because of his ambitions, political manoeuvres and cupidity.[42] Unlike his predecessors he had been able to keep his priory, the castellany of Amposta, for himself and had it administered by his brother, who opposed King Juan II of Aragon in the long and bitter Catalonian Civil War. Like his uncle Pope Eugene IV before him, Pope Paul II, in 1466, convoked a chapter general in Rome, which was attended by Sacosta but de facto directed by five bishops of the curia designated to this task by the pope himself. The chapter resulted in long term solutions towards easing the financial crisis but Sacosta died in Rome shortly afterwards.

In both cases the conflict between master and convent was resolved by the pope. This meant a weakening of the master's authority, because he became ever more dependent on the complete council. However, the 1466 Rome chapter general had instructed Sacosta to take over full control over the convent's administration and finances for a five-year period. The convent had conferred similar temporary special powers (which seemed to be a breach in the system of collective government) on Master Antoni de Fluvià in 1429, on Master Jean de Lastic in 1451 and on Master Jacques de Milly in 1454 and 1459. In each of these cases it was agreed that the annual sum of money to be spent on maintenance of the convent should be fixed at 51,000 or 54,000 florins, and that the master should be entitled to incomes from Western priories and from Eastern commanderies, which complemented an annual contribution of 12,000 florins (limited to 8,900 for Sacosta in 1466) from the master's personal funds.[43] As had been recognized in Rome in 1466, the master's income as lord of the island of Rhodes had never been subject to any *responsions* or other charges, although the master was now expected to contribute towards curbing the deficit caused by the financial crisis and the Ottoman threat.[44] In return, while he held special powers, he had permission to appoint officials in Rhodes, Cyprus and St Peter's castle. The investing of the master with these temporary powers was justified not only by the obvious need of efficiency in times of crisis but also by the high officers' request that the master contribute with his own funds towards payment of the Order's expenses and debts. Both Milly and Orsini clashed repeatedly with the treasury over money spent from their personal funds, and both left considerable unpaid debts in their *spolia*.[45]

Between the death of Fluvià in 1437 and the election of d'Aubusson in 1476 the authority of the masters was often questioned. Consensual debates were held and decisions usually made by at least a majority of the Order's experienced high officials with a seat on the master's ordinary council, in agreement with the *proctors* of the *Langues*. Some of these Hospitallers remained on Rhodes a long time – often several decades – and gained access to high offices. Examples of this 'oligarchy at work'[46] were Pierre d'Aubusson, Jaume de la Geltrú, Raymond Ricard, Giorgio de Piossasco, Joan de Cardona and Charles Noray.[47] All these officers had gained the trust of their respective *Langues*. The *Langues*' *proctors* repeatedly elected them as their representatives to such key positions as *capitulares* of the chapters general or as *proctors* of the treasury. They were very influential with the brethren in their *auberges* as well as being the closest counsellors of the masters. It is significant that Fluvià and d'Aubusson, who had held high offices for several years

at the head of the convent, were the only masters between 1420 and 1480 to have imposed their authority without any obvious difficulty; both had become used to a consensual approach with the *Langues* before their election as masters.

There was general agreement among the brethren at the convent on the basic outlines of the policy conducted by the master and his high officers, in spite of their differences over the management of finances. The priority was to bolster the defence of Rhodes by building impregnable fortifications, purchasing arms and ammunition, storing provisions and hiring mercenaries whenever necessary. Without openly admitting it, throughout the entire period and in the face of Pope Calixtus III's call for crusade and a sixteen-year-long war between Venice and the Ottomans, the convent kept its participation in costly campaigns and naval attacks against the Turks and the Mamluks to a strict minimum. In spite of the objections of the papacy, negotiations with the Mamluks and the Ottomans continued throughout the period in order to gain time to prepare for future attacks.[48] The policy of attracting western merchants to Rhodes and developing the island's harbour into a centre for international trade into the Mediterranean also met with universal approval.

The brethren of the convent were mobilized through military training or through *caravana* service at Bodrum, Cos and aboard the Order's galleys. Most of the brothers also took on paid military or administrative assignments: the 1420 chapter general decreed that all offices in the Order should be given to professed brothers, with only occasional exceptions for non-professed secretaries.[49] Many brothers lost their lives during the great Ottoman siege of Rhodes in 1480. But day-to-day life in the garrison of Rhodes was itself not very harsh.[50] Most of the brothers' expenses were taken care of, and they were allowed to live in small groups in houses located in the *collachium.* Many of them had received lands or gardens with their revenues, and several brothers owned slaves or ships; it was in fact widely accepted that brothers held on to their private wealth until their death. All these were career advantages brought about by service in the Eastern Mediterranean. The danger of losing them should the Turks succeed in conquering Rhodes was a powerful motivation for political consensus among the brethren.

As religious men the Hospitallers were bound by their vow of obedience, but as members of a military community, who were trained to obey orders, that was under constant threat of attack. Anyone who acted against the statutes and regulations of the Order or who disobeyed the commands of a superior was liable to punishment or to a trial by the *Esgards*. In spite of the conflicts discussed in this chapter the Hospitaller convent on Rhodes did not witness outbursts of rebellion or collective violence. Most problems were solved by common agreement and the use of a complex set of tools and practises which were aimed at keeping the spirit of consensus strong among all brothers of the convent members despite their differences.

Notes

1 P. Josserand, 'Couvent', in *P&C*, pp. 266–7.
2 A. Luttrell, 'The Island Order State on Rhodes', in *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291–c.1798*, ed. E. Buttigieg and S. Phillips (Farnham, 2013), pp. 19–28.

3 J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310* (London, 1967), p. 286.
4 A. Demurger, *Les Hospitaliers de Jérusalem à Rhodes, 1050–1317* (Paris, 2013), pp. 244–6; A. Beltjens, 'Alphonse de Portugal', in *P&C*, p. 83.
5 J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John*, pp. 292–303; J. Hasecker and J. Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum, Die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/1493* (Götttingen, 2007), pp. 334–5.
6 A. Luttrell, 'Le schisme dans les prieurés de l'Hôpital en Catalunya et Aragon', in *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1992), XI, pp. 108–11.
7 A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers of Rhodes confront the Turks: 1360–1421', in *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1992), II, pp. 97–109; R. Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades, 1096–1699', in *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1999), p. 248.
8 R. Valentini, 'L'Egeo dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli nelle relazioni dei Gran Maestri di Rodi', *Bulletino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio Muratoriano,* 51 (1936), 137–68.
9 A. Luttrell, 'The Island of Rhodes and the Hospìtallers of Catalunya in the Fourteenth Century', in *Studies on the Hospitallers After 1306*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 2007), XVIII, p. 162.
10 P. Bonneaud, *Le prieuré de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la couronne d'Aragon (1415–1447)* (Millau, 2004), pp. 151–64, 166–8; Bonneaud, 'La règle de l'*ancianitas* dans l'ordre de l'Hôpital, le prieuré de Catalogne et la *Castellania de Amposta* aux XIVe et XVe siècles' in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert and H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 221–32.
11 Malta, Cod. 282, fol. 76 and Cod. 283, fols. 39rv and 144.
12 A. Luttrell, 'The Italian Hospitallers at Rhodes: 1437–1462', in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1999), XIX, pp. 214–15; J. Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts, Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1422)* (Münster, 2001), p. 511.
13 Luttrell, 'The Italian Hospitallers', pp. 211–16.
14 For the changing meaning of *caravana*, see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309* (Basingstoke & New York, 2012), pp. 81–2.
15 Malta, Cod. 73, fols.153v–160r.
16 For examples see P. Bonneaud, 'La règle de l'*ancianitas*', pp. 227–8.
17 A. Luttrell, 'Sugar and schism. The Hospitallers in Cyprus from 1378 to 1386', in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and Its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999), IV, pp. 158–9.
18 P. Bonneaud, 'La crise financière des Hospitaliers de Rhodes au quinzième siècle (1426–1480)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 42/2 (2012), 501–34; J. Sarnowsky, 'The rights of the treasury: The financial administration of the Hospitallers on fifteenth-century Rhodes (1421–1522)', in *On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe, Structures and Perceptions*, ed. J. Sarnowsky (Farnham, 2011), VII, p. 269.
19 Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, p. 311.
20 R. Valentini, 'Un capitolo generale degli Ospitalieri di S. Giovanni tenuto in Vaticano nel 1446', *Archivio Storico di Malta*, 7 (1936), 133–68.
21 Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, p. 312.
22 Ibid., p. 313.
23 Ibid., pp. 295, 299 and 314.
24 Malta, Cod. 282, fols. 113v–14r.
25 Archives départementales de la Haute Garonne, Toulouse, H 13, fol. 90; A. Calvet, *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris, 2000), pp. 67–8.

26 Malta, Cod. 283, fols. 48r–49v (Example of the 1471 Chapter General with 85 Hospitallers being present).
27 J. Sarnowsky, 'The Oligarchy at Work: The Chapters General of the Hospitallers in the XVth Century (1421–1522)', in *On the Military Orders*, VI, ed. J. Sarnowsky.
28 Malta, Cod. 283, fol. 51rv; Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, pp. 158–62.
29 Malta, Cod. 283, fol. 80v.
30 Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, pp. 323–4.
31 Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, p. 168.
32 Malta, Cod. 283, fols. 48r–47r and 92v.
33 Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, pp. 162, 320.
34 Ibid., pp. 400, 312.
35 Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, p. 323.
36 A. Luttrell, 'Notes on Foulques de Vilaret, master of the Hospital, 1305–1319', in *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and Their Mediterranean World*, ed. A. Luttrell (Aldershot, 1992), IV, pp. 78–9.
37 Malta, Cod. 283, fol. 33v.
38 P. Bonneaud, 'La crise financière', pp. 508–11.
39 Malta, Cod. 282, fol. 117v.
40 P. Bonneaud, 'Le difficile exercice du pouvoir par le maître Jean de Lastic, 1437–1454', *Société de l'Histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte*, 26 (2012), 22–43.
41 R. Valentini, 'Un capitolo'.
42 P. Bonneaud, 'Success and Failure in the Practice of Power by Pere Ramon Sacosta, master of the Hospital (1461–1467)', in *MO* 5, pp. 139–40.
43 P. Bonneaud, 'La crise financière', p. 523; Sarnowsky, 'The rights of the treasury', pp. 271–4.
44 Malta, Cod. 283, fol. 33v.
45 Malta, Cod. 366, fols. 163v–164v; J. Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della sacra religione e illustrissima militia di San Giovanni Gierosolomitani* (Rome, 1629), II, pp. 328–9.
46 Sarnowsky, 'The oligarchy at work'.
47 Aubusson: commander of Cos (1459), castellan of Rhodes (1459–1462), capitular baillif of Lureil (1471–1475), prior of Auvergne (1475–1476), master of the Hospital (1476–1503); La Geltrú: captain of Bodrum (1446–1447), capitular baillif of Majorca (1454–1460), prior of Catalonia (1460–1492), lieutenant of Masters Pere Ramón Sacosta, GiovaniBaptista Orsini and Pierre d'Aubusson (1466–1492); Ricard: prior of Saint-Gilles (1450–1479), lieutenant of Master Jean de Lastic (1450–1454); Piossasco: admiral (1465–1467), prior of Lombardy (1467–1478); Cardona: capìtular bailiff of Majorca (1460–1481); Noray: bailiff of *commercium* (1471–1473), treasurer (1476–1479), hospitaller (1479–1483), prior of Aquitania (1479–1483). All this information is taken from Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, pp. 233, 636, 651–94.
48 P. Bonneaud, 'Negociation and Warfare: The Hospitallers of Rhodes around and after the fall of Constantinople (1426–1480)', *Ordines Militares*, 17 (2012), 81–103.
49 Hasecker and Sarnowsky, *Stabilimenta*, p. 374.
50 J. Sarnowsky, 'Hospitaller brothers in 15th-cenrury Rhodes' in *On the Military Orders*, XVII, ed. J. Sarnowsky, pp. 51–5.

15 Holy spaces in the urban fabric

Religious topography of the town of Rhodes during the Hospitaller period[1]

Emma Maglio

Around 1309, the Knights of St John settled on Rhodes and remained there until the Ottoman conquest of 1522. The Order's presence contributed greatly to the evolution of the town's buildings and ramparts. I propose here a study of the religious topography of the town throughout the Hospitaller period, focusing on the most remarkable churches and specifying the contribution of unpublished sources. My primary purpose is to gather information scattered throughout the specialized literature and to provide new data on these buildings, which are often difficult to date precisely.[2] Elias Kollias stated that up to thirty-seven churches existed in the walled town (of which twenty-nine still stand), with another twenty-three churches in its immediate suburbs.[3] However, Anthony Luttrell, in the first systematic review of religious buildings based on the Order's archives, identified fifty-eight urban and twenty suburban churches up to 1440.[4] This chapter intends to provide an overview of the churches as cultural elements of the urban fabric of Rhodes and to reflect on the architectural typologies of the surviving buildings.

Rhodes was the Order's first capital, after the partial occupations of Acre and Cyprus, and before the founding of Valletta. The Knights imposed a fortress-monastery on the Byzantine town. Many urban churches were built or adapted after 1309 and had a troubled history because of the military conflicts and natural events which occurred since their construction, including the multiple earthquakes that hit Rhodes between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.[5] Before the Ottoman siege of 1480, moreover, the Hospitallers ordered the demolition of several suburban churches, and many urban buildings were also damaged during the siege.[6] In addition, after the Ottoman conquest, many churches were turned into mosques or disappeared.[7]

In order to provide an account of the churches on Rhodes, various sources have been used: principally documents from the National Library in Valletta and the Departmental Archives of the Bouches-du-Rhône in Marseille (1346–1503) but also travel literature from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries and iconographic sources, many of which are dated post-1480.[8]

The Hospitaller town retained its earlier Byzantine division into two fortified areas: the Order's district to the north and the former Byzantine *burgus* to the south. The area taken by the Knights was referred to as the *castrum*, *castello* or *collachium*, but the use of these terms was not consistent.[9] Therefore, even though

the manuscripts named the Conventual church as St John *Colaci* and the cathedral as St Mary of the Castle (*Castello*), we cannot say whether these terms referred to specific places. What we can avow with some certainty is the existence of further subdivisions within the *castrum*, as described by travellers: three parts according to Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1420) and two according to Anselmo Adorno (1470).[10] One illustration in Guillaume Carousin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis Descriptio* from 1482 depicts two areas separated by a gate, whereas a 1486 picture by Konrad Grünemberg shows three parts: it seems likely that the partition changed over time. Soon after their establishment, the Knights arranged the displacement of Greeks from the *castrum* to the *burgus*, but this operation probably took place slowly or was never completed. In fact, houses of Latin and Greek people were still present in the fifteenth century. A text of 1494 describes the expulsion of prostitutes from the *castello*, proving that the *castrum* was not exclusively for the Knights.[11]

Although the *castrum* area remained almost unchanged, the *burgus* was expanded to the east, south and west.[12] By 1382 the western border, which had initially been aligned with the *castrum*, was advanced outward, and the church of St George of Cappadocia became urban.[13] To the south the walls were rebuilt beyond the church of 'St Phanuriou', perhaps placed near a gate,[14] and to the east the walled town was expanded in 1427 to include the eastern *burgus*.[15] By 1440, the south-westerly expansion was almost completed. In this manner, the walled town assumed its crescent shape. A varied population inhabited the *burgus*, but the Greeks were the majority.[16]

Images show a lack of monumentality and a great diversity of buildings, probably due more to the need to set up a fortress-town than to a lack of resources. The *burgus* had an undifferentiated urban fabric: private houses had flat roofs whereas churches were divided in accordance with the two rites in the town, with Latin churches having sloped roofs and the Greek ones featuring a dome on a drum.[17] Travellers confirm that the architecture of the town was generally unimpressive: Pietro Casola (1494) described the town of Rhodes as messy and lacking noteworthy buildings, except for those in the Knights' Street.[18]

A study of religious topography can provide the tools to better understand the town (Figure 15.1). After 1309, the Rhodians accepted, formally at least, the supremacy of the Roman Church, but they retained several religious properties along with their Greek rite. The grand master appointed priests and assigned the Greek churches to families in perpetual *emphyteusis* (that is, they could use the churches and their incomes by paying an annual tax in money or food). After the decree of Union at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439, relations between Greeks and Latins changed little. Many Uniate Rhodians probably still regarded themselves as Orthodox and retained their liturgies.[19] The Greek Church presumably lost much property, but it is unclear to what extent there was any general confiscation of private lands, even though the Latins certainly acquired possessions.[20]

In the *castrum*, except for one Greek church mentioned in the documents, all churches recognized the Roman Catholic rite (Latin). The two main buildings, respectively at the head and the foot of the Knights' Street, were the Conventual church of St John and the cathedral of St Mary of the Castle. The former

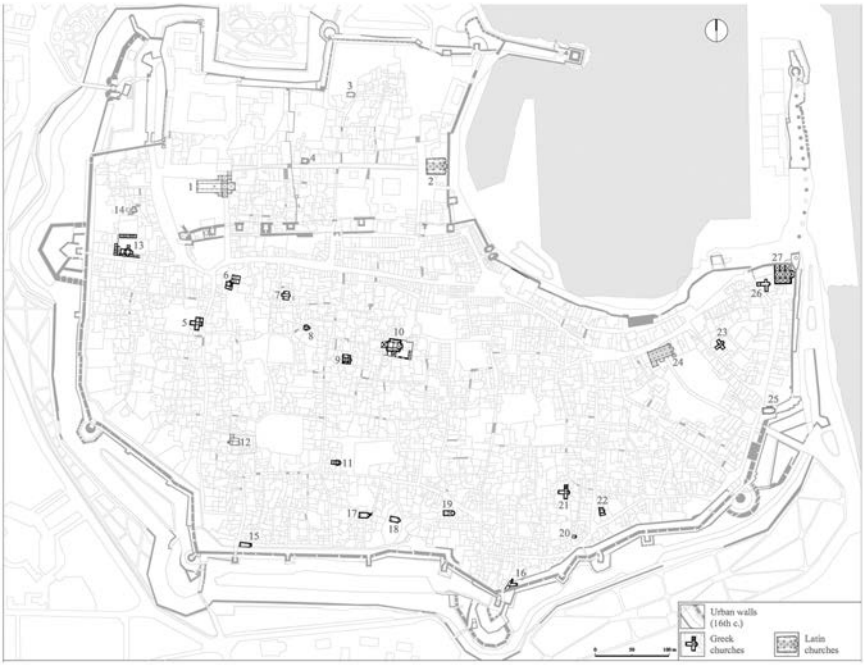

Figure 15.1 Plan of Rhodes and its surviving churches
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(n. 1 in Figure 15.1) was founded shortly after the conquest, probably on an earlier church, and was in use in 1318.[21] Travellers in the fourteenth and fifteenth century described it as modest but rich in relics, burials and funeral chapels.[22] Unpublished documents testify to the construction of St Mary's chapel in 1461 and two chapels in 1497, one major and one smaller, dedicated to 'Sancte Marie de Pietate' and 'Sancti Iohannis Baptiste'. They bordered on the south the library adjacent to the Conventual church.[23] At the foot of the street, the cathedral (n. 2) was the original Metropolitan church, the current building of which partially dates back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Knights first used it as Conventual church before its conversion to a cathedral in 1322.[24] It underwent several reconstructions, even after the Ottoman siege of 1480. It was rich in frescoes and relics, as well as burials and chapels. Also of particular interest is a text of 1495, which mentions the foundation of a chapel for Majorcan friars in accordance with the rising significance of the *Langue* of Aragon.[25]

The other churches of the *castrum* were smaller. The Greek church of St Dimitri (n. 3), used as a Latin church by the Hospitallers, was built in 1351 in the northern *castrum* and rebuilt in 1499, perhaps replicating the previous building.[26] In the Knights' Street, a chapel of unknown dedication (n. 4) already existed in 1309 and was renovated by 1374. It might correspond to a Latin chapel of St Michael,

mentioned in several documents from 1421 to 1513 but of unspecified location.[27] What seems to be the only Greek church in the *castrum* during the Knights' period, St Peter and Paul, is attested to in 1413 in a *contrada*[28] of the same name, which is undetectable among the current place names.[29] The Greeks probably retained it after ceding their Metropolitan church to the Order. Close to the southern wall of the *castrum*, there are the remains of a small Greek basilica: the original sixth-century building was used until the twelfth century at least, but we do not know if it was active during the period of the Knights.[30]

In contrast to the dearth of churches in the *castrum*, there were numerous churches in the *burgus*. In the pre-expansion *burgus* area, there were only Greek churches. In the western part, there is the fifteenth-century church of St Paraskeva (n. 5). To the northeast there is the church of the Holy Apostles (n. 6), founded in the middle of the fifteenth century on an earlier basilica. A document of 1445 attests to its use as a monastery where monks and nuns were buried together.[31] This practice, common in the Greek area from the fourth century, suggests that it was a Greek rather than a Latin monastery.[32] Further east sits the church of St Constantine and Helen (n. 7), perhaps the same St Constantine mentioned in 1395 in the 'contracta de metropolis'.[33] Moving southeast, we find St Artemios (n. 8) and St Spyridon (n. 9). Not far away, there are the ruins of the supposed Metropolitan church (n. 10), which was first mentioned in a manuscript dated to 1336.[34] The first building dates to the sixth century, and by 1446 it was known as St Mary.[35] A document of 1497 notes the institution of Masses in honour of St Dimitri and St Basil 'secundum catholicum ecclesie orientalis ritum' that is the Uniate rite.[36] Further south, near the border of the ancient *burgus*, sits the current Orthodox church of 'St Phanuriou' (n. 11). The dedication dates only to 1946, but the building is probably from the thirteenth century.[37]

In 1470, Adorno stated that the Latin churches in the town of Rhodes were St Nicholas and St Augustine.[38] Following recent excavations, scholars suggested that the Augustinian monastery present in the central *burgus* since 1339 was likely a converted Greek cruciform church.[39] It contained several funerary chapels, including that of St Nicholas, belonging to Dragonetto Clavelli.[40] Casola confirms the monastery's magnificence in 1494,[41] whereas a document of 1497 attests again to its conventual function.[42] The only church of St Nicholas remaining today (n. 12) consists of two aisles and some rooms bordering a courtyard. Although Adorno described St Nicholas and St Augustine as separate, their location and the lack of other extant buildings in the area leads scholars to suppose that they were coterminous, suggesting that the current building could be a reconstruction. Adorno's dedication to St Nicholas could refer both to the whole church and to Clavelli's chapel: in the first case, we can suggest that the dedication prevailed after the departure of the friars.

With the expansion of the town, various churches became urban or disappeared from it. To the west, the expanding footprint of the town enveloped six Greek churches at least. The first, St George of Cappadocia (n. 13), was incorporated by 1382. Nearby were the since-demolished churches of 'Sancte Margarite et Sancti Sozi', mentioned in 1423;[43] the church 'Sanctum Firisi', in 1382;[44] and a third

church, 'Ayos Sotiros', named in Jacques de Bourbon's report of 1522.[45] Near St George's gate, we find the fourteenth-century church of St Mark (n. 14).[46] This was recorded as being Greek by Albert Gabriel, who mentioned it with the Ottoman name. It was the Franciscan seat until at least 1490, as we will detail later.

The Greek church of St Athanasius (n. 15) stands next to the gate of the same name in the southwest corner of the *burgus*. The current building dates to the fifteenth century, but a church with the same dedication in a *contrada* of the same name appears in several documents dated after 1366. In texts dating from 1413, this church is located in the *burgus* next to the chapel of 'Sancta Maria Virginis', whereas another document of 1440 lists St Athanasius as an 'ecclesia parrochialis'.[47] Several other Greek churches, which have since disappeared, were in the same *contrada*. A document of 1366 named a church of St John Bucadane (perhaps Chrysostomos), whereas another dedicated to St John Chrysostomos, most likely the same church, is attested to in 1429 near St Athanasius gate. In 1440, this church, named as 'Sancti Johannis Oris Aurei', was near the gate within the walls.[48] It is possible that the current church of St Athanasius occupied either the site of the ancient St Athanasius or the church of St John Chrysostomos.[49] Finally, in 1445 a church 'vulgariter nuncupta Sotiros' was listed in the *contrada* of St Athanasius, in an area in front of the walls defended by the *Langues* of Auvergne or Spain.[50] The church 'Ayos Sotiros' mentioned before was presumably north of St Athanasius. This site could be near the *contrada* of the same name, so it is possible that the church cited in 1445 was the same mentioned by de Bourbon. In this single *contrada*, then, there were about four churches, all of them probably small.

After the expansion to the south, the small Greek church of St John the Baptist (n. 16) was built near the gate of the same name. The dedication occurred in 1447, but the church could date back to the fourteenth century. Sources document a portion of its building history and its location in the *contrada* of Patella or Padella, which housed five Greek churches since disappeared. The first, an 'ecclesia patrimonialis Virgo Maria Calisteni', is noted in a text of 1358, whereas a later text of 1382 mentions it together with a church of St John Prodromos 'in suburbiis civitatis'.[51] Scholars believe that the latter was destroyed during the construction of the new walls and that the church of the Virgin subsequently acquired its dedication. In fact, a document of 1447 refers to an 'ecclesia sive capella vocata Quira Alistheni et Ayos Johannis' in the *contrada* of Patella 'infra moenia civitatis', when the gate had already been opened. This church, then, is likely to be the surviving chapel of the original two, retaining its double dedication.[52] In the same *contrada,* there also were three churches, none of which is currently extant: 'Sancti Augini' (named in 1413), St Mary Damaschena (1440) and Christ Anthiphonitis (1444).[53] Finally, the south expansion led to the inclusion of the Greek churches of St Michael, St Kyriaki and St Theodore (n. 17, 18 and 19), probably all founded in the fifteenth century.[54] The surviving churches among this group are all small and modest in appearance. Because of their original location, they were closer to a rural typology.

The churches in the eastern part of the *burgus* too were mostly Greek. Not far from St John's gate, we find the fifteenth-century churches of St Marina (n. 20) and Holy Trinity (n. 21). There are also two churches of St Catherine, both dating

to the fourteenth century. The first is notable for its three naves (n. 22) whereas the second, as noted in a document of 1356, is cruciform (n. 23).[55] A manuscript of 1445 mentions another Greek church of St Catherine located near the town walls adjacent to the gate leading to the Mole of the Mills, but we do not know its exact location.[56]

There were also two important Latin churches in the eastern *burgus*. The first, the parish church of St Mary of the Burg (n. 24), exists today in largely ruined form. It may have been founded on a previous Latin church.[57] The second belonged to the Franciscan monastery and was built after the siege of 1480. The Franciscans settled in Rhodes in 1457 and had their seat within the walls in the small church of St Mark,[58] but travellers also mentioned a small suburban convent in 1470 and 1482.[59] By the time the Turks destroyed it in 1480, St Mark had certainly become inadequate to the friars' needs. Therefore, following the victory over the Turks, a new monastery was founded and its church, Our Lady of Victory, was completed by 1493.[60] It was endowed with various chapels, among which the most prominent are 'maiori sub titulo Assumptionis virginis Marie et minori sub titulo Sancti panthaleonis'.[61]

Scholars suggested that two churches, Our Lady of Victory and St Pantaleon, were built separately in the northeast corner of the *burgus* near the gate of St Catherine, where the remnants of a three-aisled church currently lean against the ramparts.[62] Jean-Bernard de Vaivre rejects this possibility, placing Our Lady of Victory further south near the Tower of Italy, at the site of the Turkish assault and where today the remains of an apsidal building stand (n. 25).[63] The current Orthodox parish of St Pantaleon in the northeast *burgus* (n. 26) may have been built independently of the victory. The remains near the gate of St Catherine, following de Vaivre, remain unidentified (n. 27), though we may suppose them to be the church of St Catherine attested in 1445.

In addition to the extensive catalogue offered earlier, we know the dedication of several other urban churches, now disappeared, but the generic term 'in burgo nostro' prevents any attempt to place them geographically. Documents dated between 1351 and 1450 mention about twenty churches.[64] Unpublished sources also give the names of other churches whose rite is rarely known. A Greek monastery of 'Sancti Johannis Prodromu tu Agallianu' is noted in 1452,[65] and the churches of St Irene, St Yconona, St Marina and St Mary Cliviotissa are all recorded in 1511.[66]

These various sources allowed us to estimate the number of Greek or Latin churches in the urban space of Rhodes and to make some primary considerations about them (Table 15.1).

After 1309, the Knights eliminated Greek worship from the *castrum* and reused the existing religious buildings for their own purposes. It is possible that only a single Greek church was active in the *castrum* during this period. In the *burgus* and its immediate suburbs, however, churches largely remained Greek except for those affiliated with the mendicant orders and the parish of St Mary of the Burg. Moreover, because of urban expansion, several previously suburban Greek churches became urban. As a result, among the thirty-nine churches identified in the *burgus* during this period, twenty-seven were Greek and only six were Latin.

Table 15.1 Typologies of identified urban churches

	Latin c. (parishes)	*Greek c. (parishes)*	*Unidentified*	*Churches (*ecclesie, *cathedrals)*	*Chapels*	*Unidentified*
Castrum	4 (1)	1	-	5	-	-
***Burgus* (localized)**	6 (1)	27 (2)	6	36	2	1
***Burgus* (not localized)**	-	27	-	22	5	-
Total	**10**	**55**	**6**	**63**	**7**	**1**

Those buildings not incorporated into the early urban fabric were all Greek. Therefore, the Order probably achieved a form of compromise with the Greeks that was advantageous for both of them, making exclusive Roman Catholic worship in the *castrum* while maintaining almost unchanged the *status quo* of Greek worship in the *burgus*.

During the Hospitaller period, there was a well-structured system of religious foundations on Rhodes. In the manuscripts, most of these were *ecclesie* primarily located within the walled town. There were also places of worship named *capelle*, which seemed to have been more numerous in the suburbs. There also were private churches, but we do not know the pattern of their distribution in the urban fabric. The *ius patronatus* of churches was often in the hands of Greek or Latin people or families; the grand master allowed them to appoint priests and pass churches on to their heirs.[67] The Order's documents describe many churches as well as the names of their priests. In the *contrade* of St Athanasius and Padella, there were several religious foundations of this kind, most of which are no longer extant.

Although today the urban Orthodox parishes are St Phanuriou and St Pantaleon, we cannot say for certain that they had this role in the period of the Knights, nor is it possible to establish clear relationships between the civil (the *contrade*) and religious urban subdivisions (the parishes). The sources report a large number of places of worship compared with few parishes, each of which may have included several *contrade*. Although source texts ranging from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries tell us about the Latin parish of St Mary of the Burg and the Greek parish of St Athanasius, they do not tell us whether there were other parishes in the *castrum*. In any case, St Mary of the Burg had probably no influence on the *castrum*. Because the Conventual church was not for town people, we can assume that the cathedral was also a *castrum* parish. As for Greek parishes, we know that the church of St Athanasius was named as a parish only in 1440, a year after the Council of Ferrara-Florence. At this time, urban expansion was in progress, and the inclusion of a greater number of people probably led to the establishment of a new parish in this area. However, we do not know if there were other Greek parishes before that date or what they may have been called. The Metropolitan church may have had this role, but this has to be verified.

Today twenty-seven urban churches still exist, intact or in ruins, in Rhodes, half of which are located within the urban fabric of the town. Our quantitative analysis (Table 15.2) classified them according to the plan typology and the date at which they were first attested.[68]

This analysis placed them into five categories: single-aisle churches, single-aisle churches flanked by rooms, cross-shaped (both those central-plan and cross in square), tetraconch churches (with four apses), and basilicas (Figure 15.2).

There are eight churches in the first category, spread widely across the Aegean area, six of which are Greek churches urbanized in the late fifteenth century. In addition, there are four buildings made up of a single nave with lateral rooms,

Table 15.2 Plan typologies of existing urban churches

	Single aisle	*Single aisle with lateral rooms*	*Cruciform central plan*	*Cross in square*	*Tetraconch*	*Basilica*	*Unidentified*
Urban churches	8	4	7	3	1	4	1

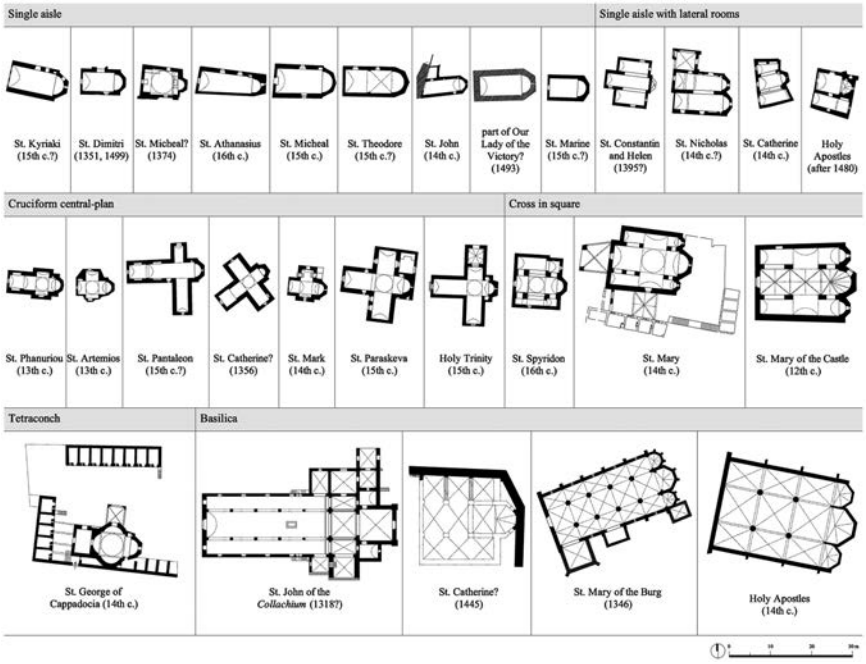

Figure 15.2 Types of Rhodes' surviving urban churches

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including one Latin church. Three of these churches are located in the ancient *burgus*. The cruciform churches are of two types, the cruciform central-plan or the cross in square. The former category includes seven churches, six of which are Greek and three of which are located in the ancient *burgus*. Three other churches have the cross-in-square plan, two of them Greek churches within the *burgus*. The only tetraconch church present in the study is St George of Cappadocia. Finally, there are the basilicas, four in total, distributed across the urban fabric of Rhodes.

The urban churches are generally sober and typically small. Single-aisle churches tend to progress in size: the fourteenth-century churches do not exceed 10 × 5m, but the later ones may be as large as 15 × 6m. In the earliest cross-in-square churches, the arms appear to have been extended and the plan is quite irregular, whereas the later buildings have a uniform Greek cross plan. Basilicas too had to be smaller than the Western cathedrals, as in the Gothic churches built in Greece and Cyprus. The largest of the basilicas was the Conventual church, which reached 47 × 15m.

The urban religious topography of Rhodes during this period shows a clear blend of Byzantine and Gothic architectural elements. The former style is primarily found in single-aisle and cruciform churches, having some typical features: semicircular barrel vaults on the aisles and the arms, semicircular apses with an exterior polygonal shape, rectangular entrances without decoration, a standard dome on a circular or polygonal drum. On occasion, ribbed vaults (St Mary of the Castle) or barrel vaults (St Mark and St Pantaleon) replaced domes. In some cases, we find decorated niches with arched ends at the entrance (St Nicholas) or decorated drums indicative of skilled workers and greater resources. Gothic elements, meanwhile, prevail in the basilicas: we find umbrella domes on the apses and a triangular tympanum on the façade, with a rectangular or pointed arch entrance and a window or a decorated niche on top of it. Pointed ribbed vaults are on the aisles, except for the Conventual church, which features semicircular barrel vaults, a sloping roof and a ribbed vaulted apse.

A further study of the sources could help to determine the wider urban policies of the Order on Rhodes. An architectural survey would fit into a broader study of urban history, deepening our understanding of the construction of the surviving churches. Another possible research approach would be to assess the distribution of ecclesiastical properties, the dynamics of their foundation and reconstruction, the appropriation of space by the Latin Church with respect to the Greek Church and the creation and transformation of burial practices. It is therefore necessary to focus future research on a relatively unexplored theme: the organization of the town into administrative and religious units. Finally, as religious architecture provides a good opportunity to observe the coexistence of elements from different cultural areas, a detailed study of the transfer and adaptation of architectural forms in religious monuments during the period of the Order is required. Urbanization over the last two centuries on Rhodes has altered the less monumental buildings, such as the small urban churches, and thus current historiography does not provide sufficient information about this.

Notes

1 Special thanks to Anthony Luttrell for his precious observations on this text.
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3 E. Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes and the Palace of the Grand Master* (Athens, 1998), p. 99.
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63 De Vaivre, 'Commémorations par Pierre d'Aubusson du siège de Rhodes de 1480', pp. 22–4.

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66 Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*, pp. 307, 324.
67 Luttrell, 'The Greeks of Rhodes', p. 207.
68 For all the churches, except for St Marina, we have a plan survey. For the Holy Apostles, we will consider the two building phases as two buildings.

16 Some developments in Hospitaller invective concerning the Turks, 1407–1530

Gregory O'Malley

By the time the Hospital became established on Rhodes, the chanceries of Latin Christendom, assisted by crusade theorists and preachers, had elaborated powerful and versatile rhetoric by which those deemed to be infidels could be, almost interchangeably, described. At times of conflict with Christians, and particularly if they were encroaching on Latin Christian territory, infidels and their activities would be subjected to a battery of derogatory and sensationalist descriptions in the papal bulls and diplomatic correspondence produced in response. Although many of these epithets were also attributed to pagans, heretics and secular enemies of the papacy, Muslims and their rulers in particular were regularly described as impious, greedy, savage, ferocious, furious, rabid, cruel, deceitful and treacherous. They were stated to be blasphemers against, or determined to expunge the name or cross of, Christ; they persecuted the faithful or thirsted for their blood, killing, enslaving, forcibly converting, violating and despoiling Christian persons, and profaning or mocking churches, altars, relics and images. They were, in short, enemies, whether of the faith, of the Christian name, of the cross, of Christ or of God. Muslims, furthermore, were held to constitute the 'sect' of a perverse pseudo-prophet to whose much-derided law they intended to subject Christians by force, so that their assaults threatened not just mundane injuries but eternal damnation to those falling into their power.

In the case of the Ottoman Turks, a further narrative was layered over and to some degree replaced older forms of anti-Muslim invective by humanist scholars and the papal chancery in the second-half of the fifteenth century, partly in order to stress the overwhelming nature and imminence of the Ottoman threat and partly to counter the long-standing and persistent notion that the Turks, like the Franks, were descended from the Trojans, thereby sharing many of their supposed virtues and having an arguable claim to be avenged against the Greeks. Based on a selective and creative reading of various classical and Byzantine texts, humanist scholars such as the future pope Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini recast the Turks as Scythians, barbarian wanderers antithetical to and destructive of civilization, a people devoted to pillage, cruelty, enslavement and murder, and intending to conquer Rome and the remainder of the Christian world. As such, the rule of the Ottoman dynasty was illegitimate, and the Ottoman sultan a tyrant. Ottoman succession practices and the institution of the *devshirme* were used to spice further

the dish of Osmanli barbarism, while Muslim opponents of the Ottomans such as Uzun Hasan or the Safavid 'sophi', Ismail I, were lauded as just rulers, descended from civilized Persian ancestors and friends or allies of Christians.[1]

We might expect that the Hospital, as an institution dedicated to the defence of the faith and under papal tutelage, and as a neighbour first of various Turkish beyliks, and later of the expanding Ottoman empire, would replicate this rhetoric in its appeals for aid against the Turks. We would not be wholly disappointed, for many of the *topoi* in papal correspondence can be found in Hospitaller documents too, if not always in quite the same variety and density. What the Hospital's chancery had to say about the Turks understandably varied according to the audience, type and purpose of communication and the state of relations between the Order and those Turks being referred to.[2] Naturally, when peace was sought with Muslim princes, which was often, the Order eschewed invective for praise.[3] In this respect, the language used of Mamluk and Ottoman potentates was largely interchangeable. Thus in 1403, as it attempted to re-establish a limited presence in the Holy Land and Egypt, the chancery described the Mamluk sultan as a 'magnificent and potent lord', while in 1442 as the Order attempted to avoid a full-scale Mamluk assault, Fr. Jean de Marsenac was instructed to go to Egypt to the 'most illustrious prince and magnificent and potent lord the sultan of Babylon'.[4] Similarly in 1450, Murad II was styled as 'lo potentissimo et grande signore Morambey Grande Turcho' when the Order had its 'amity and true peace' with him and his subjects proclaimed publicly before his ambassador in Rhodes town,[5] while Jem sultan was addressed as the 'most serene, most worthy and most excellent prince and lord' when he was negotiating his passage to Rhodes in 1482. He was further described as the 'most illustrious prince Jem, brother of the Grand Turk' when the order was re-arranging his custody in 1489.[6] Non-Christians trading with Rhodes or serving as envoys would of course also be described positively, if in less inflated terms, and documents entrusted to brethren travelling to non-Christian territories as ambassadors or consuls were at worst neutral in describing the rulers into whose lands they were passing. In 1427, for example, appointing Petrus de Sancto Martino the convent's consul in Egypt, no reference at all was made to the qualities of that country, of its inhabitants or of its rulers, despite the recent Mamluk invasion of Cyprus, in which the Order's estates there had been damaged and its subjects attacked.[7]

Many more Hospitaller documents refer to Turks, Saracens or other infidels without further description, even if they had attacked or were threatening the Order's possessions. Agreements with or instructions to brethren holding possessions in the Aegean or Cyprus could refer to damage caused by Turks or Saracens in the same neutral tone as that employed to describe natural calamities such as the plague, and references to the appearance of Turkish *fusts*, particularly in terse council minutes, were usually also made without qualification.[8] Even a statute of Grand Master Orsini, forbidding members of the Order to make peace with 'Turks, Moors or other infidels', while singling out non-Christians, had no more to say about them than that.[9] Commendations or safe conducts issued to those who had actually engaged the enemies of the faith, or had been released from captivity, sometimes described as 'miserable' or inflicted 'cruelly', being documents

designed to elicit sympathy for the bearer in the ports and lands through which he would pass on the way home, did generally refer disparagingly to Turks, Saracens or sometimes Muslims as persecutors or enemies of the Christian or Orthodox faith in order to stress the virtues or sufferings of those who had encountered them, but even here few rhetorical flourishes were employed.[10] There were exceptions, however. In 1474 an English volunteer at Bodrum, Robert Gay, having attempted for several months to arrange single combat with a Turk who would uphold the honour of his 'sect', found none willing to take him on as the Turks, 'to their contempt' allegedly preferred 'to safeguard their earthly goods than to contend for their nefandous sect'. Gay's failure to fulfil his vow was thus excused, and his lack of action given value, by asserting the cowardice and contemptibility of his hoped-for opponents.[11]

Although recognizing in 1450, for example, that infidels in general were 'enemies of the faith and of the Christian name', 'with whom we continually have war', a view that permitted the Hospital considerable flexibility when choosing its enemies,[12] until the second half of the fifteenth century the Order's chancery was relatively sparing in its criticism of even those Muslim rulers with which it was in conflict, but when there was a serious threat to the convent or to its possessions in the East it was felt appropriate to portray its opponents as something worse than mere infidels, especially when appealing to princes or fellow brethren for manpower, munitions or money. Thus in 1347, seeking the payment of responsions from the Scandinavian priories in the context of Turkish piracy, Deodat de Gozon stressed the expense of the 'continuous war' against the 'most cruel enemies of the Christian faith vulgarly called Turks' who inflicted 'cruel death' on professors and defenders of the faith.[13] Similarly in 1396, Juan Fernández de Heredia drew attention to the 'nefandous power' of 'that infidel Bayezid the Turk', who threatened Smyrna.[14] In 1434, summoning eleven brethren of the prior of St Gilles to its aid, the convent recited the Mamluk sultan Jaqmaq's threats to attack Rhodes with his 'greatest power and army' and described him as 'the most wicked persecutor of Christians'.[15] These might seem rather generic observations, but further descriptions of the same sultan demonstrate that the convent chose its epithets with care. After 1440, the Order decried the unannounced attack on Castellorizzo and Rhodes by Jaqmaq, 'our enemy and that of the whole Christian faith' as a breach of truce, and, therefore, an act of treachery.[16] Thereafter, the sultan or his 'infidel' subjects were regularly termed 'treacherous' or 'most treacherous' in any more than passing reference the Order made to the attacks of his fleet and army on its possessions in the years between 1440 and 1444.[17] As late as 1451 the convent recalled, and this in an internal document, that the 'most treacherous' sultan of Egypt, again remembered as a 'persecutor of the orthodox faith', had bent all his efforts (*totis nisibis suis*) towards overthrowing or destroying the city of Rhodes, whereas the Grand Turk had so far subjected the Order only to 'continuous insults'.[18]

Whatever the imminence of the danger from the Mamluks, by the 1440s, the Hospital had remembered that the Ottoman sultan posed a threat of a similar magnitude, and the two were often linked together. In December 1440, the treasurer-general, Roger de Clientis, was warned that the common treasury was exhausted

because of preparations for the coming war against the sultan of Babylon and the 'Grand Turk', 'Amoratus Bey'.[19] In the wake of their repulse of Jaqmaq's army from Rhodes in 1444, the convent warned the Christian rulers from whom it was seeking funds that the victory had prompted those 'most powerful infidel princes', the Grand Turk and the sultan of Baylon, although formerly enemies, to come together with the intent to wage 'dreadful and pestiferous war' against the Hospital.[20] Similar warnings of Muslim powers cooperating to avenge themselves on the Order had been made in 1365 and 1440 as they would be again in 1510.[21] In part, they were attempts to raise Latin Christian rulers' perceptions of the threat from the East and to encourage them to reconcile their differences for the sake of the faith just as their Muslim counterparts had apparently done, but they probably also reflected an element of genuine, and not entirely unjustified, paranoia.

Despite the continued association of the Ottoman and Mamluk sultans as 'our two chief enemies', which persisted until at least 1460, when they appeared as 'the two most powerful capital enemies of the Christian name',[22] there is an unmistakable sense in the documents that the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 had changed perceptions of the dynasty and its state in Rhodes.[23] Summoning brethren from the western priories to the convent in response, Jean de Lastic stated that the 'Grand Turk', the 'most wicked enemy of the Christians', had inflicted 'every type of cruelty, impiety and abomination', so that 'nothing more cruel could be uttered or imagined,' whereas further bulls, most notably an address to the Italian priors in February 1454, expiated somewhat on the nature of the offences that had occurred, if not in the same detail or with the same enthusiasm as some commentators in Italy.[24]

Again in 1454, Jacques de Milly would describe Mehmed II as 'our neighbour and mortal enemy' as he opened a chapter general, and the 'war of the infidel' as the greatest, if not the first, charge on the Order's resources.[25] Repeated Ottoman raids on the Order's possessions, prompted in part by its intermittent refusal to pay tribute, impelled it regularly to seek aid from the west during Mehmed's reign.[26] In doing so it stressed the danger posed by the 'nefandous incursions' or 'assiduous insults' of the Turks[27] and the expenses or 'inconveniences, penuries and necessities' arising from the maintenance and support of the convent of Rhodes and the order's other possessions 'because of the wars of the Turks' or 'in defence against the Turk'.[28] Nevertheless, although the Order's rhetorical statements concerning the Ottomans during the reigns of Mehmed II and his successors sometimes drew on papal and humanistic descriptions of the sufferings of Constantinople, they retained certain peculiarities appropriate to the Hospital's own concerns. For example, the incessant repetitions of its dedication, in 1493 as 'vrays champyons',[29] to the 'defense de la foy catholique / defensio fidei catholice' or to the 'tuitio fidei catholice' as expressed in the defence of its possessions and in its works of hospitality.[30] A particular concern was the protection of its subjects from the 'yoke of servitude' into which they would fall should they become slaves or subjects of the sultan. This latter phrase was used repeatedly in the years leading up to the siege of 1480, when it might also be linked, as in a magistral letter of January 1479, to the 'perdition of youths denying the faith, the defilement of

virgins, the corruption of matrons, the murder of strong men, the profanation of the holy and the throwing down of relics' which were the expected results of an Ottoman conquest of the island. Grand Masters Orsini, in 1470, and d'Aubusson, in 1479, held that similar consequences had flowed from the Turkish capture of Negroponte in 1470.[31]

An emphasis on the protection of Christians from servitude was also consistent with the anti-Turkish narrative that the Order and its supporters had constructed around the castle of St Peter at Bodrum, situated 'in acie Turcorum', 'in faucibus Turcorum' or 'in finibus Teucrorum'[32] and serving as a refuge from those fleeing from the same 'servitude' or 'tyranny'. This image was disseminated among potential supporters in western Europe through indulgence preaching and letters and the accounts of pilgrims, many of whom were regaled with stories about fleeing captives being rescued by the famous dogs of Bodrum.[33] That the Hospital had genuine concern for the condition of Christians and slaves living under Ottoman rule is, however, borne out by its refusal to make peace with Bayezid I in 1393 or Mehmed II in 1465–1466 on the grounds of their insistence that slaves escaping their domains for those of the Hospitallers should be returned, although the return of Muslim slaves, and compensation for Christian, were provided for in the agreements of 1452 and 1482.[34] Nevertheless, Grand Master d'Aubusson's pronouncements on the dangers posed by Ottoman slave-raids or invasion focused as much on the 'ignominy, dishonour and shameful memory' into which the Order would fall if the defence of Rhodes was neglected as on the fate of those 'souls' led into peril.[35] A still keener focus on corporate honour was maintained by Aimery d'Amboise in 1506, when he complained that the raid of 1503, in which 140 persons had been carried off from Archangelos and more from Neocorio, had redounded to the 'dedecor et damnum' of the Hospital because many of the captives had subsequently denied the Christian faith. The tone of his speech, in which he blamed failings in the coastguard rather than the Turks, suggested that the honour of the Order mattered more to him than any loss of souls, and still less of bodies.[36]

A further application of the Order's rhetoric of concern to defend its subjects from the Turks was in occasional commendations issued to brethren 'for the defence of the Catholic faith and people against the Turks' or the 'exaltation of the Christian name in the East against the Turks' in the preambles to bulls granting them privileges, offices or expectancies to the same.[37] However, more general citations recalling the brothers' defence or upholding of the Catholic faith, sometimes against unspecified enemies, and from 1510 against Muslims, were more common.[38] The payment of responsions, the recovery of goods belonging to the common treasury and other activities in the West were also tied to the same goals.[39] After the fall of Rhodes, the convent continued to stress its former role in defending the inhabitants of the Dodecanese to potential benefactors. In October 1523, for example, its ambassadors to the emperor were instructed to stress that if given Malta its brethren would be 'continui difensori' of the coasts of Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Calabria and the papal states in the same way as they had formerly defended Rhodes and its archipelago.[40]

When, therefore, the convent presented Leo X's call for a crusade in 1518 as a 'general expedition of Christian princes against the monstrous Turks, enemies of the life-giving cross, for the liberation of the Christian faithful oppressed (but more truly reduced into bitter servitude) by the Tyrant of the Turks', it was clearly building outwards from a foundational element in its rhetoric, that of the defence or protection of Christians, to their liberation.[41] In the early Maltese period the Order was able to adapt this rhetoric of liberation to its new circumstances, claiming to Henry VIII in 1540 that many Christian slaves were freed from the *fusts* and other corsair vessels taken by its galleys and that the north African *presidio* of Tripoli was both a refuge for escaping Christian slaves and a resort of black slaves, both male and female, who were inspired to 'live in the faith of Christ' by the Order's practice of hospitality and care for the sick.[42]

If some emphases were distinctive to the Order, and if anti-Turkish rhetoric was sometimes restrained, the Hospital's pronouncements on the subject do reflect the influence of chanceries and writers elsewhere. Pierre d'Aubusson's attack on the 'sect' and person of the 'pseudo-prophet' Mohammed in 1479 was somewhat unusual in Hospitaller terms but rhetorically conventional in a wider Latin Christian context.[43] Among the phrases or epithets suggesting the influence of humanist writers are 'Tyrant of the Turks', in use from at least the 1470s;[44] 'barbarian', applied to the Ottoman family in 1482;[45] and 'monstrous' (i*mmanis*), often coupled with the phrase 'enemies of the life-giving cross' (*immanes vivifice crucis hostes*), and applied to the Ottoman sultan, his family, his subjects, and, especially after the victory over the Mamluk fleet in 1510, Muslims in general. Humanist influence is also suggested by references to Asia Minor rather than Turkey such as Pierre d'Aubusson's allegation in 1479 that, not satisfied with Asia Minor and Greece, Mehmed II was determined to expand his power by conquering other lands and by the classicization of engines of war or troop types in accounts of the sieges of Rhodes or of other contemporary military actions.[46]

Hospitaller invective against the Ottoman sultans can probably be said to have reached an apogee of inventiveness with the vice-chancellor Guillaume Caoursin's attribution in 1481 of the recent earthquake which had shaken Rhodes to the earth's revulsion at the interment of the 'criminal, fetid and savage' corpse of Mehmed II within it, so that 'opening in a gigantic fissure, its viscera gaping, it despatched the body to its core and hurled it to the perpetual chaos of the damned', where its 'stench' affected 'even Hell, aggravating the sufferings inflicted upon the damned'.[47] Both Caoursin and his successors borrowed from humanistic rhetoric and classical history as well when describing the sultans and their dynasty. Thus Caoursin's *Oratio* to Innocent VIII in 1485 described the late Conqueror as 'more powerful than Mithridates, richer than Croesus, crueller than Aeron',[48] while a recurrent theme was the tyranny of Ottoman rulers, generally described as the 'Turk' or the 'Grand Turk' until the 1460s.

At first 'Tyrant of the Turks' seems to have been regarded as a personal title of Mehmed II, for in 1482, while Bayezid II was denigrated by comparison with his brother Jem as 'very rich, powerful and proud', his worst characteristic appears to have been his descent from that 'cruellest of tyrants' Mehmed II, and he himself

was not so described.[49] In 1503, similarly, the convent was still styling Bayezid the 'Grand Turk' in council, although admittedly in the context of negotiations with the sultan's son Korkud.[50] Nevertheless, in time Bayezid was to emerge from the chrysalis of apparently arbitrary rule and oppressive government to become a fully fledged 'tyrant of the Turks' in his own right, such as in 1507, when prosecuting his 'detestable hatred against us . . . and our oriental estate', or in 1511 when he was also described as our 'old and neighbouring enemy' in contrast to the Mamluk sultan, who was not denigrated personally, although stated to be thirsting for revenge for the recent loss of his fleet.[51] Bayezid's successor, Selim 'the Grim', achieved tyranny more quickly, for in 1512, within months of his accession, he was described as the 'most cruel new tyrant of the Turks, our chief enemy' when the convent feared that his forces were on their way to attack Rhodes.[52] In 1514, reporting the defeat of Selim at Chaldiran, Grand Master Carretto's chancery played up to the perceptions of Turks and Persians still prevalent among humanist scholars in Italy by assassinating the character of the Ottoman sultan and praising the virtues of the Safavid sultan. In Selim, described as having a 'Scythian pallor', all the ornaments of virtue had been 'obscured by inhuman cruelty', despite his 'military nature and inexorable force of spirit'. Isma'il, by contrast married 'a most beautiful nature' with the 'very greatest virtues' besides an aquiline nose and other attributes reminiscent of the distinguished lineage of the ancient kings of Persia.[53]

If painting Ottoman sultans as tyrants served as useful shorthand allowing the Order to bring to mind their apparent cruelty and the purported illegitimacy of their rule, the Hospital also drew attention to the more singular aspects of the Ottoman state, such as its dynastic succession laws, the readiness to revolt of its oppressed subjects and its expansionism in ways calculated to encourage western European military intervention. Either weaknesses or strengths might be stressed, depending on whether the convent was attempting to promote offensive operations or get help defending Rhodes. Accordingly, in the optimistic aftermath of the victory over the Mamluks in 1510, it opined that 'the kingdom of the Turks' was 'not far from ruin' because of the number of sons of the 'Tyrant' jockeying for Bayezid's position, 'for their law is not primo-geniture, nor secundo-, but to call the most powerful to the kingship, excluding imbeciles and the useless.'[54] The resulting war, it was hoped, would present the Christians with their opportunity to avenge the 'innocent blood of the faithful' spilt 'for so many years' by the 'fury' of the Muslims.[55] Conversely, in the wake of Selim the Grim's destruction of the Mamluk sultanate in 1516–1517, the Hospital echoed humanist assertions of the Turkish lust for conquest by asking its envoy to Henry VIII 'to narrate . . . the prosperous success of the same Tyrant . . . , the very greatest increase of his power and his insatiable appetite to dominate and reduce the whole world to his monarchy'.[56]

As these examples show, when the Order felt threatened or thought there might be some prospect of military assistance from, or cooperation with, one of the major western European polities, it was aware of and could deploy a wide range of anti-Ottoman invective, even if some of those elements which appeared in humanist writings in the 1440s or 1450s found their way into the vocabulary of the chancery on Rhodes rather later. But the impression one gets, by contrast with a papal curia which

larded its calls to arms with a dazzling array of derogatory epithets, is that Hospitaller rhetoric was focused on fewer concerns – the protection of its subjects, the Order's own honour and the defence of the Christian faith against various opponents, whether they were described as Saracens, Turks, infidels or simply 'enemies'.[57]

Notes

1 The literature is substantial, but for the contrast between Turks as barbaric Scythians and civilized Persians see especially M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (London, 2008).
2 Cf. T. Vann, 'The Role of Rhetoric and Diplomacy in the Creation of Muslim Identity in Fifteenth-Century Rhodes', in J. Watkins & K. L. Reyerson, ed., *Mediterranean Identities in the Premodern Era* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 109–19. Vann considers the differences between the Order's 'public rhetoric' and 'private dialogue' under the categories of war, diplomacy and trade.
3 P. Bonneaud, 'Le difficile exercice du pouvoir par le maître Jean de Lastic 1437–1454', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte*, 26 (2012), 22–43, at 23, 24, 26, 33–4, 38–9; Bonneaud, 'Negotiation and Warfare: The Hospitallers of Rhodes around and after the Fall of Constantinople (1426–1480)', *Ordines Militares*, 17 (2012), 81–103, *passim*.
4 Malta, Cod. 332, fol. 170r (168r); K. Borchardt, A. T. Luttrell & E. Schöffler, ed., *Documents concerning Cyprus from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459* (Nicosia, 2011) (hereafter *Cyprus*), doc. 178, at p. 212. See also *Cyprus*, docs. 179–82, 184.
5 Malta, Cod. 362, fol. 193r–v (194r–v), cited from Hospitaller Sources Online.
6 S. Paoli, ed., *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta,* 2 vols (Lucca, 1737), ii, p. 411; Malta, Cod. 390, fol. 130v (130v).
7 Z. N. Tsirpanlis, ed., *Anekdota eggrapha gia te Rodo kai te Noties Sporades apo to archeio ton Ionniton Ippoton* (unpublished documents concerning Rhodes and the south-eastern Aegean Islands from the Archives of the Order of St John) (Rhodes, 1995), doc. 15, pp. 241–2.
8 E.g. Malta, Cod. 74, fols. 35r (48r), 50r–v (63r–v), 120r (134r).
9 J. Hasecker & J. Sarnowsky, ed., *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum Militum: Die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/93* (Göttingen, 2007), p. 169.
10 E.g. Malta, Cod. 369, 236r–v (270r–v); *Cyprus*, docs. 282, 297. But see also *Cyprus*, doc. 276, for an invective-free commendation for escaped prisoners of the Turks.
11 Malta, Cod. 382, fol. 138r–v (138r–v).
12 Prisoner exchange with Egypt. Malta, Cod. 362, fol. 179 [180]; cited from Hospitaller Sources Online.
13 Paoli, ed., *Codice,* ii, pp. 90–1.
14 A. T. Luttrell and E. A. Zachariadou, ed., *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive 1389–1422* (Athens, 2008), doc. 3.
15 *Cyprus*, doc. 110 at p. 128.
16 Ibid., doc. 165 at p. 195.
17 E.g. Malta, Cod. 355, fol. 251r–v (250r–v); 356, fols. 154r–v (155r–v), 156r–v (157r–v); *Cyprus*, nos. 187, 195. But not always: see Malta, Cod. 360, fol. 155v–6r, where the 1444 'siege of the Saracens' by the troops of the sultan, 'then our chief enemy' was recalled without further comment on his qualities.
18 *Cyprus*, doc. 279.
19 Malta, Cod. 354, fol. 220v–1r.
20 *Cyprus*, doc. 195.
21 Paoli, ed., *Codice*, ii, pp. 95–6; *Cyprus,* doc. 165 at p. 197; Bonneaud, 'Exercice', p. 25; G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460–1565* (Oxford, 2005), 162–3.

22 Malta, Cod. 370, fols. (157r–8r).
23 Bonneaud, 'Exercice', p. 42.
24 R. Valentini, 'L'Egeo dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli nelle relazioni dei Gran Maestri di Rodi', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 51 (1936), 137–68, at 160, 162, 164–5, 168. The summons of 1454 also referred to the Egyptian sultan and his followers as a 'gens . . . barbarica', who had replaced the Christian manner of living with the barbarian.
25 Malta, Cod. 282, fols. 7v–9v, at 8r; J. Sarnowsky, ed., *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts: Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1522)* (Münster, 2001), pp. 617–19.
26 Bonneaud, 'Negotiation', pp. 91–5, 100–1; Bonneaud, 'Exercice', p. 42; J.-B. de Vaivre, 'Les ambassades en Turquie de fr. Antoine Charron et la poursuite de sa carrière en France', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte*, 29 (2013), 4–36, at 4, 7, 9, 32–5.
27 Malta, Cod. 367, fol. 200r–v; 283, fol. 185v–9v.
28 Malta, Cod. 381, fols. 158v–9v.
29 Malta, Cod. 391, fol. 106.
30 See for example Malta, Cod. 392, fol. 168, where the defence of the faith against the Turks is tied to the service of hospitality and to the honour, favour and *premium* the Order provided the Christian republic, or Malta, Cod. 414, fol. 205v, where 'Catholice fidei defensio' is linked with 'christiane gentis tutela et piis hospitalitatis operibus exercendis'; for 'tuitio fidei catholice' see, for example Malta, Cod. 283, fol.183v; 389, fol. 137r–v (139r–v); 390, fol. 130v (130v); 392, fols. 100v–101r; 394, fol. 175r–6r (177r–8r); 395, fol. 150r (151r); 396, fol. (130v–1r); 397, fol. 166r (166r); 399, fol. 167r–v (166r–v); 402, fols. 135r–6r; 414, fol. 194r; 415, fols. 164v, 166r, 182r; 416, fol. 155r.
31 Malta, Cod. 386, fols. 147v–9r (146v–8r); Vann, 'Role of Rhetoric', pp. 111–12. For less extended evocations of the yoke of servitude or of the Turks see for example Malta, Cod. 383, fols. 180v–1v (170v–1v), 259v–60r (249v–50r); 386, fols. 147v–9r (146v–8r). In 1477 d'Aubusson spoke of the 'grandissimo periculo e danno' occurring to 'lo populo' when 'li Turchi fare embuscada . . . por damnificare li suditi'. Malta, Cod. 385, fol. 190r (1901r).
32 Luttrell and Zachariadou, ed., *Sources*, p. 106, citing document of 1415; *Cyprus*, doc. 111 at p. 130; Malta, Cod. 362, 152v (153v), consulted from Hospitaller Sources Online; J. Sarnowsky, 'Identity and Self Perception of the Military Orders', in *On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe*, I, ed. J. Sarnowsky, pp. 1–23, at 6n., citing Malta, Cod. 360, fol. 157r; Malta, Cod. 387, fol. 202r.
33 A. T. Luttrell, 'The Later History of the Maussolleion and its Utilization in the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum', *Jutland Archaeological Society Publications*, 15:2 (1986), 114–214, at 145–6, 164–6*; Stabilimenta*, p. 186; N. Vatin, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes and the Ottoman Turks', in N. Housley, ed., *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*(Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 149–62, at 161. For Castellorizo as a refuge of Christians, see *Cyprus*, no. 195.
34 Luttrell and Zachariadou, ed., *Sources*, pp. 96, 127–8; Bonneaud, 'Negotiation', p. 101; de Vaivre, 'Charron', p. 10; Bonneaud, 'Exercice', p. 33; Vatin, 'Hospitallers at Rhodes', p. 161.
35 Malta, Cod. 386, fols. 147v–9r (146v–8r).
36 Malta, Cod. 81, fols. 26v–28r (39v–41r).
37 Malta, Cod. 395, fols. 138r–v (139r–v), 139r–v (140r–v); Sarnowsky, 'Identity and Self-Perception', p. 5.
38 E.g. Malta, Cod. 369, fols. 167r–8v (179r–80v); 391, fol. 106r; 392, fols. 100v–101r; 395, fol. 150r (151r); 396, fols. 132v–3r (130v–1r); 397, fol. 141v (142v); 401, fol. 160v; 402, fols. 135r–6r; 403, fols. 168v, 193v–4r; 404, fol. 137r (147r). In November 1513 and March 1514 preceptories were bestowed on the Irish knight Edmund Seys

in return for his 'defence of the Catholic faith contra Ma(h)umethos'. Malta, Cod. 402, fols. 136v, 139r–v.

39 E.g. Malta, Cod. 382, fol. 139r–v (139r–v); 397, fols. 145r–v (146r–v), 166r (166r), 168v–9v (168v–9v); 400, fols. 146r–v, 146v–7v, 148r–9v; 403, fols. 193v–4r.

40 R. Valentini, 'I cavalieri di S. Giovanni da Rodi a Malta: Trattive Diplomatiche', *Archivum Melitense*, 9:4 (1934), 137–237, at 181.

41 Malta, Cod. 407, fol. 178r–v (176r–v).

42 Malta, Cod. 417, fols. 281v–2v, 239r.

43 Malta, Cod. 387, fols. 134v–6r (134v–6r).

44 E.g. Malta, Cod. 387, fols. 134v–6r (134v–6r); Vann, 'Role of Rhetoric', p. 111.

45 Paoli, ed., *Codice*, ii, p. 412.

46 Malta, Cod. 387, fol. 188r–9r (189r–90r); Paoli, ed., *Codice*, ii, p. 412; Malta, Cod. 395, fol. 139r–v (140r–v); 400, fols. 143r–4r; 401, fol. 146r–v; 402, fol. 136v. For Muslims, rather than Turks, as 'vivifice crucis hostes' see Malta, Cod. 400, fol. 146r–v; 404, fol. 137r–8r (147r–8r). A magistral letter of 1514 has Persian cavalry as 'cataphracts'. Paoli, ed., *Codice*, ii, p. 449.

47 The translation follows Vatin, 'Hospitallers at Rhodes', p. 151. The text in BN, MS Latin 6067 is illustrated with devils bearing the sultan's soul off to hell.

48 G. Caoursin, 'Oratio ad summum pontificem Innocentium papam octavum', in Caoursin, *Opera* (Ulm, 1496).

49 Vatin, 'Hospitallers at Rhodes', p. 157.

50 Malta, Cod. 80, fols. 30r (43r), 68v–70r (81v–3r).

51 Malta, Cod. 398, fol. 1r–1v; 401, fols. 2v–3r. Similarly, writing to Henry VII's minister Reynold Bray in April 1503, the Hospitaller prior of England had accused the Turks of 'prosecuting the greatest hatred' against Rhodes. Westminster Abbey Muniments 16072.

52 Malta, Cod. 401, fol. 207. He remained a 'tyrant' thereafter, e.g. in Malta, Cod. 405, fols. 132v–3r, 134r.

53 Paoli, ed., *Codice*, ii, p. 449. On perceptions of Ismail, which were not universally positive, see Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, pp. 231–7.

54 Paoli, ed., *Codice*, ii, p. 174.

55 Ibid.

56 Malta, Cod. 407, fol. 107r–v (106r–v).

57 Enemies: Sarnowsky, 'Identity and Self-Perception', p. 18; Malta, Cod. 413, fol. 21v; 414, fols. 31v, 190, 222; 416, fols. 20, 154v–5r, 158r, 193v–4r; Valentini, 'Da Rodi a Malta', 181, 186, 190, 203, 204, 219, 233; infidels: Malta, Cod. 414, fol. 262r; 416, fols. 193v–4r.

17 Crisis and revival

The convent of the Order of Malta during the Catholic Reformation (16th–17th centuries)

Anne Brogini

On the first of January 1523, chased by the fleet of Suleiman the Magnificent, the Convent of the Knights Hospitaller permanently left the island of Rhodes, where it had been established since *c*.1309. Bereft of its overseas territories, the Order first turned to its spiritual leader, the pope, for assistance, but it was eventually Emperor Charles V who offered them the Maltese islands as a fiefdom. In 1530, the Convent settled for the first time of its history on the island of Malta, in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea, far to the west of its earlier base on Rhodes. The geographical proximity of the Convent to a European continent torn apart by the Protestant Reformation partly explains the various religious transformations that the Order was to go through in the following years. In 1540, the English Langue was removed by King Henry VIII and subsequently most of the English Hospitallers left Malta.[1]

The Order was influenced by new ideas at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and many brethren became sympathetic to humanist and Protestant views; there were sixteen trials on charges of heresy in the Convent between 1530 and 1559 (ten in 1530–1539, five in 1540–1549 and one in 1550–1559).[2] Because of this, many conflicts within the English Langue arose after 1534, such as duels and frequent fights between the brethren.[3] The eventual disappearance of the English Langue did not stop the religious disturbances in the Convent. Protestantism was spreading throughout Maltese society and in the Convent, affecting the few Germans on Malta but having a much stronger impact on the French who represented the majority there.

The Protestant Reformation led to the loss of many Hospitaller territories in England and in Germany, as well as the end of the English Langue. However, as the majority of Hospitaller brethren came from Southern Europe, Protestantism was not a great threat to the Order.[4] Instead, the Protestant Reformation reinforced the Mediterranean identity of the Order of Malta: the South European Langues (Italy, Castile, Aragon, Provence) became predominant, and this irreversible southern domination was further strengthened by the application of the Catholic Reformation in the Convent. Thus, from the end of the Council of Trento in 1563 and until the middle of the seventeenth century, the Catholic Reformation endeavoured to reassert the five monastic engagements (obedience, chastity, poverty, crusade, hospitality) and a new religious foundation of a Hospitaller feminine monastery in Malta.

The reminder of monastic vows

The desire for a Catholic reformation came from both the brethren and the Convent authorities. The brethren submitted their proposal for reformation to the Council of Trento through 'rolles' (proposals intended to request modifications in the organization of the Convent). The 'rolle' of Grand Master Jean de la Cassière of 1578 illustrated the ambitions of the Council of Trento: it was a type of program that aimed at conforming the Order to the clerical model redefined by the Council.[5] La Cassière denounced the sins and abuses of the Hospitallers, considered as the cause for the collapse of the Order. He condemned the 'libidinous and avaricious behaviour' of the brothers and the regular disobedience of the brethren, suggesting that they return to residing in a *Collachium* separated from the world by walls, as was the case on Rhodes.[6] Indeed, the Council of Trento called to mind the necessity of monastic enclosure and cancelled the *licentia extra standi*, which allowed the possibility for the religious to temporarily live outside the Convent, for example in order to study.[7] La Cassière also wanted to better educate the brothers, proposing to provide each novice entering the Order with a volume of rules and statutes.[8] He also believed that the chaplains should live in an exemplary manner, by residing in a community house, having perfect knowledge of the Holy Bible, and speaking Latin fluently. Influenced by the reformation led by St Charles Borromeo in Italy during the 1560s, La Cassière perfectly embodied the decisions taken by the Council of Trento, such as the promotion of priests and their role as teachers, and the morals of the clergy considered to be responsible for souls (*cura animarum*).[9]

The spread of the Catholic Reformation was also the result of decisions taken by the authorities. Between 1560 and 1650, 83 rules were voted by the grand masters and the Council to reform the Hospitallers' life and morals.[10] In 1554 and in 1577,

Table 17.1 Rules to remember Hospitallers' vows (1540–1649)

	Obedience	*Chastity*	*Poverty*	*Hospitality*	*Crusade* (corso)	*TOTAL*
1540–1549	2					**2**
1550–1559	6					**6**
1560–1569	11		1			**12**
1570–1579	9		2	1		**12**
1580–1589	12		2		1	**15**
1590–1599	5		1	5		**11**
1600–1609	1			1	1	**3**
1610–1619				1		**1**
1620–1629	2		1	1		**4**
1630–1639	5	3	3	3	2	**16**
1640–1649	2	2	1	4		**9**
TOTAL	**55**	**5**	**11**	**16**	**4**	**91**

Malta Cod. 85–116, *passim.*

two rules were imposed to discipline the behaviour of brethren at mealtime, with the obligation to eat together in silence, quietly and modestly, and to show respect and obedience to the *Pilier* (chief of the Langue).[11] Several other rules were also observed in 1570, 1588, 1596 and 1622, making it strictly prohibited for brethren to be out of dormitories and cells during the night, under penalty of imprisonment.[12] Many other rules made attendance at Mass mandatory, thus they prohibited walks outside of the church[13] and chatting or playing cards, dice or ball inside the church during Mass.[14]

Bearing arms raised the issue of monastic and noble double identity for the Knights of Malta. There was a repression of violence through prohibition of certain weapons: between 1551 and 1645, thirteen rules were voted to ban acts of aggression against seculars or between brothers, and also to limit the right to have weapons, in accordance with the Council of Trento which outlawed duels.[15] The numerous rules and sentences resulted in an important decrease of violence and in the number of duels after the 1570s (see Figure 17.1).

Anything contrary to the vow of poverty was sentenced without remission. Thus all forms of excess clothing were banned, such as the wearing of clothes of a colour other than black or dark,[16] or of clothes made from a fabric other than simple cotton (e.g. velvet or silk, or displaying gold, silver or silken threads).[17] There were many prohibitions pertaining to excesses in the consumption of food or drink. For example, in 1559, some brethren were condemned for stealing wine to organize a secret banquet in their Auberge.[18] The reason was not only individual appetite, but rather the special desire of nobles to feast together, organize banquets and to receive and maintain supporters.[19] Similarly, the Convent prohibited gambling, in particular if it promoted betting. There was a multiplication of sentences in 1551, 1567 and 1587, and in general an increasing number of rules against fun and games involving betting, cards, dice and balls can be observed after the 1570s.[20]

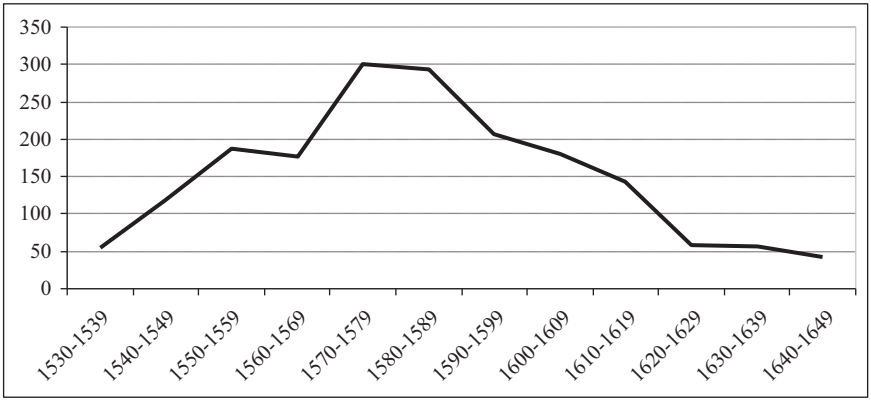

Figure 17.1 The evolution of violence in the Convent (1530–1650)

Malta Cod. 85–116, *passim*.

The unexpected consequences of the Catholic Reformation

This radicalization of monastic life had unexpected consequences, namely the growing discontent of the brethren and the progressive acceptance by the Convent of a few breaches to the Rule. The new austerity caused a significant increase in the number of desertions and refusals to come to the Convent.[21] From 1580 onwards more and more Hospitallers escaped, abandoning their galley when they put in. In 1586 two Italian knights secretly left their galley at Messina,[22] and over the winter from 1618–1619, twelve French brothers (nine brothers in arms and three knights) deserted the Convent at sea in small groups at every call.[23] As well as deserting, the Hospitallers categorically refused to appear at the Convent once they had returned to Europe: in 1607, twenty-two Italian noblemen abandoned convent life by refusing to present themselves at Malta, and in 1637,[24] 3 French knights refused also to go to Malta once they had returned to their kingdom.[25] There was an inverse relationship between the evolution of the curve of desertions and that of violence: between 1560 and 1610, one can notice two important increases because of a strong aversion for the increasing strictness of convent life during the Catholic Reformation (see Figure 17.2).

Likewise, the number of convictions for 'bad morals' increased (see Figure 17.3). This term referred to several things, including mingling with unsavoury people (e.g. thieves and murderers) and disrespect for the vow of chastity and anything related to money (e.g. theft, fraud, betting and debt). There was a sharp increase of convictions between 1560 and 1590 as a result of the Catholic Reformation which punished the brothers more severely. This trend continued throughout the seventeenth century.

From the end of the sixteenth century, the Hospitallers adopted a more comfortable way of life different from the one they had before; this phenomenon reflected

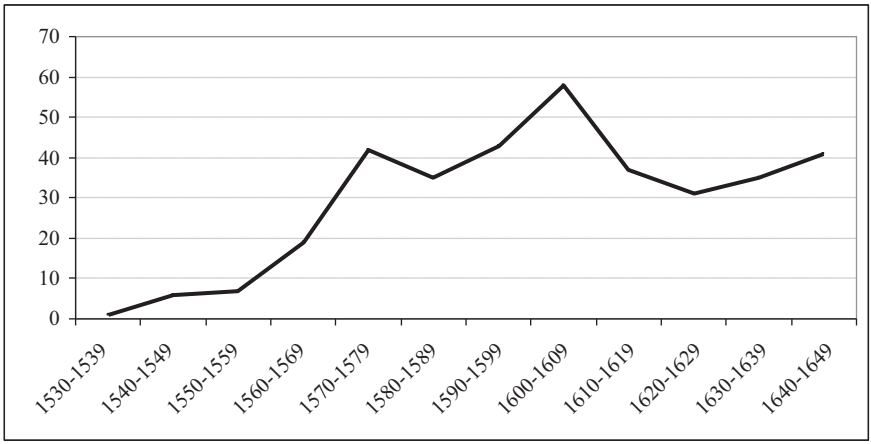

Figure 17.2 The evolution of defections (1530–1650)

Malta Cod. 85–116, *passim*.

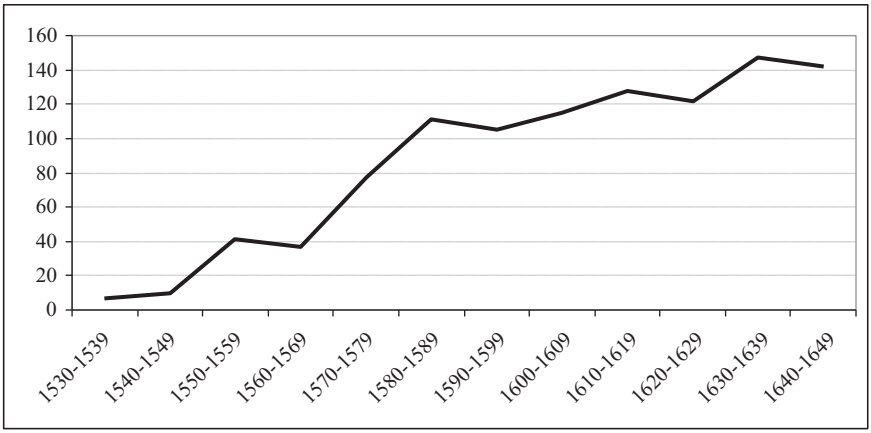

Figure 17.3 The evolution of 'bad morals' (1530–1650)
Malta Cod. 85–116, *passim*.

the change of the European nobility at the same time.[26] The knights began to live in private mansions, construct villas in Valletta and live beyond their financial means.[27] Meanwhile, there was less respect for the vow of chastity. In 1631, the prior of Messina proposed that all women in the city should keep their faces uncovered so that the brethren could immediately distinguish between honest women and prostitutes, saying that 'if they could not be chaste, they should at least be careful'.[28] Indeed, at that time, as elsewhere in Europe, syphilis was spreading.[29] It was rife in the Malta harbour and so many Hospitaller brothers were infected that in 1596 a special room was built in the *Sacra Infirmaria*, to treat all Hospitallers and lay persons who were sick from syphilis.[30]

The return of the Hospitaller sisters overseas

Most military orders accepted women and this was especially the case for the Hospital, probably because of its initial vocation of hospitality.[31] But after the departure of the Hospital from the Holy Land in 1291, women disappeared from the Convent overseas: in Cyprus and Rhodes, for example, it is possible to detect the presence of only a few sisters or maids.[32] Hospitaller women were consequently restricted to Continental Europe, in convents which were all founded between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. There was a spatial distribution between gender and religious duties: whereas women were confined to convents in Europe, men were present both in Europe and overseas conducting war and giving hospitality.

The Catholic Reformation represented a major change with the reappearance overseas of Hospitaller women. In the 1580s, the Grand Master Hugues de Loubens Verdalle (1582–1595) founded the Convent of St Ursula in Valletta, and at the end of his government in 1595, Sicilian nuns from the convent of Santa

Maria in Aracœli moved from Syracuse to Malta.[33] Two years later, in 1597, the pope placed the monastery under the jurisdiction of the Order, and under the full authority of the grand master who could set the rule of the Convent in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Trento and the statutes of the Order.[34] The nuns of St Ursula depended on the prior of the conventual church and could dress like male Hospitallers, wearing a white half-cross on their left upper arm, except the prioress, who could wear a full cross.[35] They were dedicated to prayer and silence.[36] Gradually, the nuns of the convent originally from Sicily came from Maltese and European aristocracy. The Order accepted only rich and noble virgins who were not illegitimate children and did not have any Jewish or Muslim blood/ancestry.[37] The convent accepted very young girls, but they had to be sixteen years old in order to take their vows after a year of novitiate, in accordance with the Council of Trent.[38]

St Ursula was the first Hospitaller female convent to be founded overseas since the thirteenth century. The Order had thus returned in the seventeenth century to a medieval religious tradition. Like their sisters in Europe, the nuns led a contemplative life, but they also prayed for the success of the *corso*. As a consequence, the monastery received a share of corsair spoils. That way, sisters and brethren both defended the Catholic religion: the brothers with weapons and the sisters with prayer. Like men, Hospitaller women lived for the Crusade and by the Crusade, because their monastery was partly funded by privateering.[39]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Convent of the Hospitallers faced the very rapid spread of the Protestant Reformation, it experienced many conflicts and it became an actor and a model for the Catholic Reformation in the Mediterranean. After this religious revival, it grew stronger, becoming a place where the violence of warriors had disappeared, except in the *corso* against Muslims. The Convent became a place of vibrant Catholicism, which reinforced its position with regard to the king of Spain and the pope. From the middle of the seventeenth century, the Order of Malta became both a religious and warrior model, with the Hospitallers being considered as perfect monks, perfect crusaders and the essence of European Catholic nobility.

Notes

1 G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460–1565* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 320–5; Malta, Cod. 86, f. 112r (12 January 1541).

2 Malta, Cod. 86–90, *passim*: Malta, Cod. 86, f. 51r (13 December 1536); Malta, Cod. 89, f. 25r (5 November 1554); ibid., f. 127r (12 October 1557), readmission into the Order of Frà George Dudlay, who had become knight on 3 July 1545 (Malta, Cod. 87, f. 61r) and who had become protestant shortly after; ibid. 90, f. 22r (3 July 1588), readmission into the Order of an English knight who had become protestant during the 1550s.

3 Ibid. 86, f. 93v (26 September 1539); f. 95r (16 October 1539).

4 P. Josserand, 'L'ordre de Sainte-Marie des Teutoniques', in *Le glaive et la croix. Templiers, Hospitaliers, Chevaliers Teutoniques et autres Ordres Militaires du Moyen Âge*, ed. C. de Ayala Martínez and F. Novoa (Paris, 2005), pp. 167–83.

5 J.-M. Le Gall, 'Réformer l'Église catholique aux XVe–XVIIe siècles: restaurer, rénover, innover?', *Bulletin de l'Association d'Étude sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance*, 56 (2003), 61–75.

6 ASV (Archivio Segreto Vaticano), *Segretaria di Stato* (henceforth SS), Malta 103, f. 216r.
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18 The Hospitallers and the Grand Harbour of Malta: culture and conflict[1]

Emanuel Buttigieg

Introduction

The year 2012 marked the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Among the various events organised was a grand pageant on the river Thames; despite the rain, the royal family, the participants and the crowds ranged along the banks of the river enjoyed the sights, colours, sounds and motions of the event. To these would need to be added the sense of touch and smell which no doubt the direct participants experienced. The splendid work of craftsmanship encapsulated in the royal barge, the Gloriana, was at the heart of the show. It was this spectacle which inspired this study of the Grand Harbour of Malta (or *Porto Generale*)[2] as a space which was used by the Hospitallers for similar events.

For instance, on 9 June 1624, Grand Master Antoine de Paule ceremoniously took possession of Birgu (Vittoriosa) in a ritual known as a *possesso*. Previous grand masters had staged entries into Malta's old city, Mdina; de Paule, apart from entering Mdina opted to invent and add a new tradition, a ceremonial entry of the grand master into the maritime town of Vittoriosa. He crossed over from Valletta to Vittoriosa (Figure 18.1) accompanied by many boats; upon landing he mounted a horse and proceeded to enter through the gate of the city. All the while, the thunder of artillery could be heard in the air and happy, animated people 'men, women and young women' ran into the streets, windows and terraces to greet him. A spectacular triumphal arch was erected in Vittoriosa's main square for the grand master to pass under; poems in praise of de Paule were read out and music was played on a variety of instruments. He then proceeded down to the quay where he was greeted by soldiers firing their muskets and all galleys and vessels in the harbour fired their artillery which was an 'amazing and joyful thing' to behold. He then embarked on his gondola (*gundula*) to return to Valletta amid the joyful expressions of the population. De Paule felt so happy on that day that his skin was flushed and given that his hair and beard were white, this was even more visible.[3]

This was a triumphal event captured in an equally triumphant account of de Paule's *possesso:* all proceedings were centred on his person, and it was a largely land-based event, even if always within close proximity to the sea. The magisterial *possesso* of Vittoriosa became a fixture in the calendar of grand masters who followed de Paule. It continued to evolve, becoming more sea-focused in later

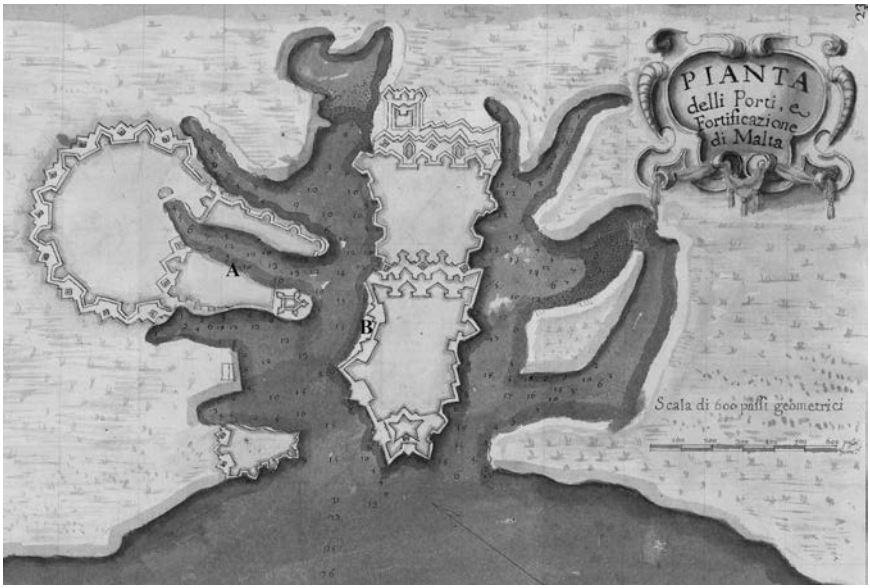

Figure 18.1 Map of the Grand Harbour of Malta. NLM Libr. Ms. 317. *Nuovo specchio dei naviganti, opera del Padre Decrenisse* (Palermo, 1728). This is a portulan consisting of 41 maps, two of which depict Malta. The maps are originally in colour and the depth of the ports is indicated. © The National Library of Malta. The Birgu (Vittoriosa) quayside (consisting of the area from Fort St Angelo to the Church of St Lawrence, including the naval arsenal) is indicated by the letter A, while the location of the Neptune Fountain, *Porta Marina* and Lascaris tunnel on the Valletta quayside is indicated by the letter B.

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times and a key ritualistic nexus connecting the two sides of the Grand Harbour. The account of this event contained within it various elements which captured the centrality of culture and conflict to Hospitaller lives through sights, sounds, touch and smells. In other words, a sensual experience which was meant to engross participant and spectator in the very widest possible of ways. 'Culture' is here understood in the sense of sea-borne rituals while 'conflict' is evident in a symbolic language representing the incessant war against Islam, and the two are mutually reinforcing. Rituals could also form part of, or be addressed to, particular conflicts within the ranks of the Order itself.

A framework: conceptual and physical

When the Hospitallers settled in Malta in 1530, they brought with them the legal tools, experiences, practices and ideas that had underscored their 'island order state' on Rhodes since 1306–1309.[4] They must have also brought with them ideas

about rituals, performances and spectacles. For instance, the theatrical dimension of the island order state on Rhodes is evident in Pierre d'Aubusson's funeral (1503): the sword stained with the blood of the 1480 siege was placed upon his bier, his cadaver was carried into the Palace and people flocked to see him.[5] The word 'theatrical' is used on purpose; it is not the theatre in the sense of going to see a play on stage, but the state as theatre where a variety of spaces function as stages for the performance of spectacles which calibrated the relationship between rulers and subjects in the island order state of the Hospitallers.[6]

Various historiographical threads need to be brought together to weave the conceptual framework for this study. On one level, it is useful to refer to the notion of a 'visual culture approach' by emphasising the importance of objects as historical sources.[7] Take for instance the model of a magisterial gondola in Figure 18.2, representing the one used by Grand Master Adrien de Wignacourt (1690–1697). The model has been dated to the late seventeenth century.[8] It gives us a three-dimensional impression of a vessel that was often at the heart of magnificent state-managed events. Its colours of green, white, brown and gold would have shimmered on the blue waters of the harbour, while the grand master – its star occupant – both showed and hid himself from view on this vessel. The lid on the model can be lifted to reveal the elegant interior of a boat that had no other purpose than to provide a spectacle. In such instances, the grand masters were the key participants and protagonists themselves; they were at the heart of events which put the magisterial household on show.

On another level, there is an attempt here to understand the connection between water and political power; exploring the complex interrelationship between the bodies of water that constitute the Grand Harbour and the human populations that lived alongside them. In this vein, it is worth noting that today most Maltese and visitors to Malta approach Valletta and the Grand Harbour from the land side, which in a sense is the wrong side. When you step ashore at the Grand Harbour

Figure 18.2 Late seventeenth-century model (80cm × 13cm) of the gondola used by Grand Master Adrien de Wignacourt (1690–1697).

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you are approaching Valletta and Malta in the way originally intended: from the sea. In 1777, the French artist Jean Hoüel wrote 'The entrance to the harbour of Malta resembles a wide road.'[9] The landward gate of Valletta may have been called *Porta Reale*, but it was the *Porta Marina* and its environs on the shore of the Grand Harbour which constituted the pulsating heart of the city.[10] Hoüel witnessed a Valletta and harbour which would be fairly familiar to a modern eye; it must be borne in mind that this was a site of continuous development and evolution. The prominence of the harbour in maps and paintings over the whole of the early modern period witnesses the sustained centrality of this region.

On yet another level, this study looks at ideas about rituals, the early modern courts and the study of the senses. In his classic and much-debated work about nineteenth-century Bali, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz outlined a model where the state was not concerned with government as such, but where its main preoccupation was to maintain a show of power, hence the term 'theatre state' where 'power served pomp, not pomp power'.[11] Although the model of the 'theatre state' cannot be transposed to Hospitaller Malta, it provides some interesting bearings within which to formulate ideas. Malta as the Hospitallers' island order state had – and was perceived to have – the naval-military capability for both offensive and defensive actions, even if on a small scale. Nevertheless, the Order of St John clearly felt that splendid rituals and imposing settings for these were essential to its sustenance. Hence, it is possible to apply here what Peter Burke has called the 'dramaturgical perspective', that is, adopting a broad view of how the Order operated which considers ritual as a key element of the island order state.[12] To do so, one must attempt to reconstruct the sensory environment of participants and observers alike.

Events like the *possessi* offered delights for the eye: fluttering banners, colourful clothes, fireworks, elaborate architectural features (temporary and permanent), as well as delights for the ear, in particular through music and the thunder of guns and artillery. Appeal was also made to other senses, including touch and taste, through such devices as fountains of wine.[13] The Order sought to use the urban-maritime space of the Grand Harbour to engage with large-scale audiences; hence, we need to connect the performative impact of such events to a particular mode of spectatorship. Moreover, the spectacles organised at sea were set against the constant transformation and embellishment of the littoral: fortifications most obviously, but also gardens, loggias, churches, villas, storehouses and so on.[14] There was no coronation ceremony for a grand master, so other events, such as the *possessi*, made up for it.

Many pageants, festivals and spectacles that might normally be overlooked in studies about the Order had in fact important political implications. Instilling an element of 'sensory discipline' – consisting of a mixture of repression and stimulation – was a key dimension in such public events where the ultimate aim was to persuade onlookers about the greatness of the state as embodied in the grand master.[15] At the same time, it should be noted that not all rituals were about politics; an element of entertainment as well as the notion of personal glory, particularly as articulated by Louis XIV from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, were also important.[16]

A theatre state needs a stage wherein to operate and for the Hospitallers the Grand Harbour – with its deep waters and various creeks – offered the perfect setting. Indeed, it was one of the few positive points noted in the otherwise negative report of the Hospitaller commission sent to evaluate Malta in 1524.[17] In what follows I will focus on two elements in particular within the harbour area: the Birgu quayside, where the main Arsenal of the Order was located, and the Valletta quayside, in particular the area around the Neptune Fountain (Figure 18.1). The Birgu quayside, known as the *Molo di S. Lorenzo* and later as the *Marina Grande*, consisted of a stretch of land from Fort St Angelo to the Church of St Lawrence. This is where the Hospitallers developed their first arsenal, so that already in 1535 they were able to launch a new galley. Once Valletta was built, a number of attempts were made to have an arsenal adjoining Valletta: these included the Fossa Arsenal (1570), the Salvago Arsenal (1652) and the Calcara Arsenal (1667), all located along various stretches of the Valletta waterfront. None functioned for more than a few years. In this one respect at least, Valletta was not able to fulfil the needs of the Order, and the Vittoriosa arsenal remained the main one. In 1689, Grand Master Adrien de Wignacourt replaced the old arsenal building with a new structure, equipped with three slipways covered by barrel-vaulted ceilings and with three huge arches on the façade. Adjoining the arsenal were various maritime-related and often impressive buildings, such as the Palace of the Captain General of the Galleys.[18] What is significant here is that the slipways of the arsenal meant that no one – including the grand master – could walk in front of the arsenal. Instead one had to go through the narrow paths which linked the shore to St Lawrence Street and hence led to the Church of St Lawrence. When performing their *possesso* of Vittoriosa, grand masters would have had to follow this path when they departed from the Vittoriosa waterfront (the landing generally occurred a few metres further up to allow the grand master to enter the city via its landward gate). It was a small, but splendid, space, particularly by the end of the seventeenth century.

On the other side, on the Valletta waterfront, there was a hub of activity centred on the Neptune Fountain, inaugurated in 1615 by Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt. As originally conceived, the fortifications of Valletta had no opening onto the Grand Harbour; the grand master who followed de Valette, Pietro Del Monte (1568–1572) was just as committed to Valletta and he oversaw, in 1571, the transfer of the Convent from Vittoriosa to Valletta, in a lavish waterborne pageant. Grand Master Del Monte ordered the opening of a gateway in the fortifications that would create a direct link between Valletta's heart and its waterfront; hence it became known as *Porte del Monte* or *Porta della Marina*, names reflecting its originator and its function. The fountain, which was added in 1615, provided an easily accessible source of drinking water to ships. The third key element was an extensive project by Grand Master Lascaris (1636–1657) who carried out major works by creating a sumptuous garden on the fortifications (hence the 'Sultan's Garden') and driving a tunnel through the stone in order to connect Valletta with the Floriana and Marsa waterfronts. There were of course other developments in the area both before and after Lascaris' intervention.[19] Various accounts and images attest to the centrality this tunnel-fountain-gate node. It was from here that grand masters embarked and disembarked.

A virtual nexus developed between Valletta and Vittoriosa, the new and the old cities of the harbour. Waterborne events and rituals were statements of interdependence between the two neighbouring cities. There is a feeling – particularly up to 1617 – that going from Vittoriosa to Valletta was more prestigious than the other way round. In 1568, black-draped barges with muffled oars carried the cadaver of de Valette from Vittoriosa to Valletta to be buried in the Church of Our Lady of Victory. At some later point, the cadavers of earlier grand masters, such as Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam, were also moved from Vittoriosa to Valletta, to be reburied in the new conventual church.[20] In 1571, the convent ceremoniously migrated from Vittoriosa – in this instance in galleys and vessels richly adorned with silks, damasks, olive branches and so on – to Valletta.[21] While in 1617, two highly regarded images, one of St Anthony the Abbot and the other of St Anthony of Padua, were removed from Vittoriosa and brought on board the magisterial gondola to their new home in Valletta, thereby formally establishing a Hospitaller parish centred on the Church of Our Lady of Victories.[22]

Vittoriosa was, in a sense, divested of its Hospitaller historical and religious items. Moreover, when, in 1581, Grand Master La Cassière was deposed from power by a group of rebellious Hospitallers, he was made to undergo a reverse journey, from Valletta to Vittoriosa to be a prisoner in Fort St Angelo.[23] It was clearly seen as a gesture that would indicate La Cassière's loss of authority. On the other hand, one annalist of the Order noted how when La Cassière neared the shore of Vittoriosa, the women of that city and of Senglea came down and cried and bewailed the grand master as if they had lost someone dear to them.[24] In this manner, a contrast was created between the prostitutes of Valletta, who supported the rebels, and the good women of Vittoriosa and Senglea, who supported La Cassière.[25] Yet the loss of status which Vittoriosa may have suffered was made up for in two ways: first, the squadrons of the Order followed an established routine, whereby upon leaving Vittoriosa's galley creek, they would stop at Valletta's fountain to collect water prior to proceeding out of the harbour.[26] This served as a regular reminder of how the naval activities of the Order – so critical to its early modern existence – remained based in Vittoriosa. Second, the introduction of the *possesso* of Vittoriosa by de Paule was a powerful restatement of unity between Valletta and Vittoriosa. Some grand masters chose – very significantly – to have their *possesso* coincide with the parish feast of St Lawrence (10th August), thereby honouring Vittoriosa at the moment when it was most resplendent.[27] Moreover, by the time that Grand Master Marc'Antonio Zondadari carried out his *possesso* of Vittoriosa in 1720, the symbolic silver and gold-plated keys to Vittoriosa were described as indicating his possession not just of Vittoriosa, but of all the harbour towns.[28]

Case-studies

Having sketched out the physical and conceptual frameworks that provide the bearings for this study, it is now appropriate to turn to some examples of the ways the Order used the harbour waters for rituals. The first instance comes from the very

early years of the Order in Malta, therefore a moment when the harbour was still largely unchanged by the Hospitaller presence. In 1534, Grand Master l'Isle Adam died in Mdina. His cadaver was embalmed, with his heart placed in an urn and deposited in a church in Rabat, outside Mdina. In the early hours of the morning, his cadaver was taken down to a small chapel in Marsa, commonly referred to as Ta' Ċeppuna Chapel. This still exists today, largely unchanged it would seem from the time when it welcomed this distinguished person. From the chapel the cadaver was then taken using the Carracca's boat to Birgu. The boat was all draped in black material, and when it reached Birgu's quay it was welcomed by a multitude of lit torches. From there he was solemnly taken along the quay into St Angelo where people could pay their final respects. Mass was celebrated in St Lawrence Church while the cadaver was buried in St Angelo.[29] Though the surviving description of this event is short, we can infer that the choice to transport the deceased grand master by boat rather than by land for the last part of the trip was intentional and intended to make the occasion as grand as possible. The black-clad boat arriving at the break of dawn at the Birgu quay alight with torches must have been a spectacle witnessed by many from the various vantage points available. This episode is also a reminder of just how much landscapes can change. Ċeppuna chapel is today almost a kilometre from the sea. By 1534, siltation of the area had already been underway for some time but clearly there was still a navigable canal which was at least 1m deep, which was still visible even at the start of the nineteenth century.[30]

In 1587, the much-venerated icon of Our Lady of Damascus was moved from the Greek Church in Birgu to the new Greek Church in Valletta. This icon has a long and colourful history. It was said to have originally been in Damascus, but feeling threatened by the growing danger from Muslim forces, it departed, floating on the sea preceded by a lighted taper until it came to rest on Rhodes. There the Hospitallers treasured it; it also accompanied them – by sea – on their exile from Rhodes to Malta. And so it was in 1587, as the new Greek parish church was being established in Valletta, that it was decided to move the icon – very appropriately – by sea. The icon was taken down to St Angelo and placed on one of the galleys of the Order which for the occasion was richly bedecked with red damask and flags. Church bells rang and ships fired their guns while boats accompanied the galley as it made its voyage from Vittoriosa to Valletta, where the grand master and all the highest dignitaries of the Order welcomed the icon and escorted her into Valletta. In the eighteenth century, the priest-painter Don Luigi Buhagiar commemorated this event with a painting, which used to hang next to the icon in the Valletta church. The church was destroyed during the Second World War as was the painting, though a 1930s picture of it survives. The icon, fortunately, also survived.[31] The painting, though not very clear, does bring out key elements: the richly adorned galley with flags unfurled, oars and a great baldachin over the icon floating majestically in the middle of the harbour; the grand master and his entourage on the Valletta quay waiting to greet the icon to its new home; the mighty St Angelo in the background saluting the icon. The painter also chose to introduce two elements which were not there in 1587; the Neptune Fountain and the Sultan's Garden, both of which came later. Their inclusion – together with other elements

depicted – are an important testimonial to the ritualistic language that had become a common currency of the Grand Harbour of the Hospitallers' island order state. These elements would seem, by the eighteenth century, to have come to be considered as timeless; one could not imagine the harbour otherwise.

Seventy years after the joyous event of the icon's transfer, the Hospitaller island order state needed to prepare itself for a different transfer, this time of newly elected Grand Master Martin de Redin. At the time of his election, he was Viceroy in Sicily, so now he had to come to the Convent in Malta. Several folios in the Council of State section of the archive are dedicated to this procedure. A commission was specifically set up on 18 August 1657 to look into the matter and establish the required procedure. It was not the first time in the Order's history that an individual had been elected while absent from the Convent, necessitating his travel to the Convent.[32] But in this instance certain factors had to be taken into account, including that he was the outgoing Viceroy of Sicily and that he was going to be accompanied not only by the navy of the Order but also by that of the papacy. The documentation makes it clear that a 'dialogue' went on between the Council in Malta and de Redin in Sicily, with proposals and counter-proposals about the minutiae of the Sicily-Malta voyage and the entry into the Grand Harbour. In the end it was a magnificent affair on both land and sea, as richly bedecked vessels, artillery fire, choirs, colours, rich fabrics, shouting and fireworks assailed the senses.[33] The protracted discussions about these rituals and the splendour of the occasion gain more meaning when one considers the controversial nature of de Redin's election to the magistracy. Many Hospitallers, together with the Inquisitor-Apostolic Delegate asserted that de Redin had used money to buy votes.[34] De Redin clearly wanted to use his arrival in Malta as a tool to address this conflict within the Order. Ritual here was a way of conducting politics through other means.

Aside from funerals and celebrations, the Grand Harbour was also used as a space for punishments, which of themselves were rituals that displayed the ability of the island order state to castigate miscreants. That it was an ideal space for public displays of authority was evident in the fact that the very entrance to the harbour was for a long time known as gallows' point; here criminals were hanged for the entire world to see. A particularly graphic example is that related to the failed Slaves' Conspiracy of 1749. In this intriguing episode, the Muslim slaves of the island were discovered to be plotting to murder the grand master and stage a takeover. The plot was foiled, and those involved were brutally tortured and punished. Two of these slaves, Haggi Musa and Mishud, were to be paraded in the streets of Valletta while suffering various forms of torture all the way to the Valletta quayside where they were then to be quartered by boats rowing in opposite directions in the middle of the harbour. The severed heads of the two slaves were then exposed, one at St Angelo and the other one at St Elmo, at the opening of the harbour. The harbour was clearly a perfect space for public executions but, as emerges in one particular narrative of these events, it was also a space for public redemption: one of the slaves, Mishud, upon reaching Valletta's quay asked to be baptised, which action we are told 'greatly consoled the People'.[35] His life on earth may have ended in bloody torment on a spectacular stage, but at least there was waiting for him the stage of salvation in the afterlife.

Conclusion

The *Porto Generale* of Hospitaller Malta was a hive of naval-military and economic activity; we know much about the first of these, but the second still awaits sustained attention. This chapter, however, has sought to look at a further aspect of the Grand Harbour: its use as a space for rituals. In Malta, the Hospitallers' island order state which had been transferred from Rhodes, reached new levels of sophistication where rituals were a vital part of it. So 'culture' (in the sense of splendid ritual) and 'conflict' (in the form of a language of incessant war against Islam) came together on occasions like the launching of new sea vessels to create set-pieces which reinforced the Order's confidence in its own purpose and impressed onlookers. At the same time, it needs to be re-iterated that not all display had to do with power – or exclusively so – other elements such an entertainment and glory were also important. It must also be borne in mind that alongside the colour of spectacle there existed an underbelly of dirt, smell and disease, encapsulated in such locations as *porto pidocchio*, that spot in the harbour earmarked for delousing by crews and slaves prior to disembarkation. This underscores the recurrent theme running through this chapter, that is, a first attempt at reconstructing the sensory environment of the Hospitaller island order state.

Notes

1 I am grateful to Ann Williams, Liam Gauci, Emmanuel Magro Conti, Giovanni Bonello and Stefan Aquilina for their insights and practical help. This chapter marks the beginning of a wider research project on ritual and spatiality in the Grand Harbour of Malta under the Hospitallers.
2 On appellations of the Grand Harbour see J. Muscat, *Maltese Ports (1400–1800)* (Malta, 2002), p. 2.
3 The account of de Paule's *possesso* of Vittoriosa, including the quotes in the text, is found in Malta, Cod. 218, fols. 38^{r}–9^{r}, 9 June 1624.
4 A. Luttrell, 'The Island Order State on Rhodes', in *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291–c.1798*, ed. E. Buttigieg and S. Phillips (Farnham, 2013), pp. 19–28.
5 A. Williams, 'Sad Stories of the Death of Kings: Last Illnesses and Funerary Rites of the Grand Master of the Order of St John from Aubusson to the Cotoners', in *MO* 3, p. 57.
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19 Piety and ritual in the Magistral Palace of the Order of St John in Malta

Theresa Vella

The one constant element in the 1,000-year history of the Order of St John is its dedication to the Hospitaller role. From the first hospital in the Holy Land, to the *Sacra Infermeria* in Malta up to the present day, the Order's active involvement in the care and healing of the ill and wounded has evolved by adapting to changing contexts and circumstances. The Hospitaller values of charity and mercy were rooted in Christian teachings as well as in older teachings by Aristotle and Seneca, leading to the potent match of the nobleman's societal duty to be liberal (generous) and the religious duty to fulfil acts of charity and mercy.[1]

The Hospitaller knight's religious life formed an intrinsic part of the identity of the military and religious noblemen of the Order of St John, yet the practice of private religious devotion has received little academic attention. Perhaps understandably, in the balance between meditative piety and outward displays of great deeds, it may be expected that visible achievements would command the attention of historians.

Although the churches of the Order of St John, especially the conventual church, have been amply explored as communal sites for the gathering of its knights as well as architectural gems, another aspect of the religious life of Hospitaller knights may be discovered through a study of the art and architecture that gave visual and tangible form to the practice of that life within the privacy of their homes. The spaces and objects that were created for this purpose are no longer immediately visible, owing to conversions of the auberges and *palazzi* of Grand Crosses and other dignitaries of the Order that started to take place immediately after the departure of the Order from Malta in 1798. The fate of the Magistral Palace, with its chapels being deconsecrated and dissembled to be converted into offices and bedrooms may be taken as typical of other Hospitaller residences. However, enough survives within the Palace to justify a study of the private religious life of the grand master, as the foremost Hospitaller example to be followed by other knights. The magistral chapels, with their respective works of art, afford a singular view onto the private piety of the most eminent of Hospitaller knights. The halls and chambers also reveal that ritual and piety became increasingly important elements of the grand master's public life.

The depiction of charity and pious deeds in Hospitaller art

Research on the private religious life of Hospitaller knights is not straightforward. In its early modern manifestations it is mainly viewed as modelled on the dictates of the Counter-Reformation. However, a deeper study of the religious life of Hospitaller knights reveals that the Order of St John afforded a unique cultural model in the confluence of religious values and military ideals, especially in the transitional years of Tridentine change at the turn of the seventeenth century.

An extraordinary view into the religious and cultural formation of the sixteenth century comes in the form of a collection of observations about the norms of Hospitaller behaviour by Fra Sabba da Castiglione, titled *Ricordi avvero Ammaestramenti*.[2] Contemporary literary sources such as *Il Cortegiano* (1528) by Baldassare Castiglione, a relative of Fra Sabba, shed light on the norms of behaviour of courtiers and nobles living within a hierarchical community that gave its loyalty to a monarch. The knights of St John were raised in the same noble circles, yet their life as Hospitallers was conducted in different circumstances on the battlefield, at sea or in service in the Order's Hospital and commanderies. The purpose of Fra Sabba's *Ricordi* was to address these circumstances in relation to the vows taken by the Knights of the Order of St John.

Fra Sabba's writings during the period 1530–1580 coincided with a time of substantial cultural change in the Order of St John, which was in the process of transferring from a medieval-style convent and hospital in formerly Byzantine lands to the new Renaissance city of Valetta. Unlike Rhodes, Valletta enabled a completely different way for knights to conduct their public and private affairs. It allowed them to live less like ascetic monks and more like worldly noblemen, with all the trappings to which they, as members of the aristocracy, had been accustomed in their homelands. Renaissance art came to form part of the ecclesiastical environments of public as well as private religious aspects of sixteenth-century Hospitaller life. Religious art and other devotional artefacts were also to be found in the several residences and palazzi in Valletta. Research on Hospitaller art collections has shown how paintings and sculptures, as pictorial and symbolic representations of Hospitaller piety, present another form of Hospitaller self-identity.[3] The majority of Hospitaller inventories of works of art include devotional images, namely Marian and Christological imagery, as well as images of saints, most notably St John the Baptist. With respect to less overtly religious subjects, Christian themes are also to be found in non-devotional works of art such as allegories, landscapes and history paintings, and thus extend the religious dimension into art collections as markers of identity and values. This chapter focuses on one pious theme that appears in Hospitaller art collections, expressed through the pictorial imagery of 'Charity' and the 'Acts of Mercy'.

The artistic theme of Christian charity was comparable to noble liberality, favours of friendship and neighbourly generosity. Its roots lay in classical beliefs, as described in the writings of Seneca, who qualified the disinterested duality of gift-giving with the words, 'How sweet, how precious is a gift, for which the giver will not suffer us to pay even our thanks, which he forgot that he had given

even while he was giving it.'[4] Christian charity started with the love of God, which was then transmitted as love of others. Charity could be practised with one's kin, friends or neighbours, but it was viewed most characteristically in terms of compassion and mercy for others in need or with afflictions.[5] Also, as forms of alms-giving, charitable deeds were part of the conduct expected of noblemen and were therefore regarded as acts appropriate to Hospitaller knights. Charity was the driving force behind all forms of social aid extended by the Hospitaller State in Malta. The Foundation for the Redemption of Slaves was set up in 1607 to procure money for the ransom of Maltese men and women who had fallen slaves in Muslim countries. The Women's Hospital of Valletta was set up in 1625. A Hospice for indigent men and women was set up in 1729. Orphanages were set up in 1606 and in 1710.[6]

Charity was one of the three theological virtues represented in the fresco paintings inside the *Sala del Gran Consiglio*. The allegory of *Charity* flanked the composition depicting the assistance sent by the Viceroy of Sicily to the grand master inside Fort St Angelo three months into the Siege of Malta of 1565. The pictorial theme of *Charity* was also represented in private collections.[7] One painting found in the inventory of the collection of the Grand Master Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos showed 'St Louis of France in the act of almsgiving'.[8] Several Hospitaller bequests include endowments of money to hospitals and other charitable foundations of the Order.[9]

At the start of the eighteenth century, the private chamber of Grand Master Perellos in the magistral palace was refurbished. The new decorations included a frieze of six oil-on-canvas paintings portraying the *Seven Acts of Mercy* depicted by means of biblical episodes (see Plate 5). The as yet unknown artist composed his paintings in a classical, Poussin-esque style, which was little practised in Malta at the time, basing the compositions on an earlier series by the French artist, Sebastien Bourdon (1616–1671). The Malta artist replicated the format of earlier frescoes in the Palace by encompassing the compositions within frames and painting a cartouche beneath each one explaining the narrative and its biblical source.[10] Every day the grand master would have woken up seeing this personal call to Hospitaller piety and religious duty expressed in allegorical form and in pictorial narrative.

Magistral chapels

With respect to the building of the magistral chapel, it is now known that within one decade at the end of the sixteenth century, the architecture of the Palace was adapted to introduce a greater element of secular ritual into the public life of the grand master. The Magistral Palace was built to house the **public** persona of the grand master as head of the Order, as well as his **private** persona as a religious military knight. As the foremost Hospitaller residence, the Magistral Palace as a whole, as well as the layout of its halls, gave spatial form to the private religious life of the grand master. His public role is well documented in the Order's archives, whereas the use of the palace's various stately halls for public gatherings

have been described by visitors ever since the end of the sixteenth century.[11] Yet little documentation exists on the private chambers occupied by the grand master.

The first magistral residence in Valletta actually belonged to Eustachio Del Monte, nephew of the grand master. The centrality of the Palace to the rest of Valletta underscores Del Monte's decision to relocate the magistral residence from the towering aloofness of the original site at the city's periphery towards the heart of the young city.[12] The first years of the building of Valletta in the late 1560s witnessed a transitional state of living arrangements, including spaces for religious devotions. Portable altars, devised out of a modest chest-like structure with flaps that open out into a table or *mensa* and drawers where altar furnishings are kept or displayed, may have been built at the time though no late sixteenth-century pieces are known to exist. The chambers that once served as Del Monte's residence today give little to no indication of any space dedicated to a private chapel, suggesting that a temporary arrangement, such as that afforded by a portable altar that would then convert into a cabinet, may have served that purpose.

On succeeding Del Monte in 1572, Jean de La Cassière made the first major changes to the Palace, creating a *piano nobile* with a grand *Sala del Maggior Consiglio* for public gatherings as well as a chapel over the former auberge of the Langue of Italy and a magistral residence over the former Del Monte house. A recent finding by the architectural historian Dr Jevon Vella demonstrates the location of the first magistral chapel that once stood between the private chambers and the public *Sala del Gran Consiglio*.[13] This chapel no longer exists, yet part of its original coffered ceiling is still visible, having been replaced by a wide corridor in the course of the changes made less than a decade later (see Plate 6a). The Magistral Palace thus comprised two adjacent blocks, with a magnificent chapel sited at the zone that bridged the two halves of the building – the grand master's residential quarters on the right and the *Sala* on the left. The *Sala del Gran Consiglio* was embellished by a frieze of frescos by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio. The frescos comprised episodes from the Great Siege of 1565 with allegorical figures representing Christian virtues and framing each historic episode. Indeed, it is the Christian faith personified by the Virtues that loom larger within the frieze that the individual figures within the siege compositions.

La Cassière's successor, Hugues Loubenx de Verdalle, was the first grand master to fully understand the interplay between the communicative potential of the visual arts and their means for shaping a political vision, as well as to effectively combine religious devotion with artistic and architectural apparata to revitalize the Hospitaller Order's identity.[14] By the 1580s, Verdalle initiated a series of measures which strengthened the public persona of the grand master and subsequently brought much-needed stability to the Order. In Malta, Verdalle was possibly emulating Valois practice when he extended the *piano nobile* to build a series of chambers and ante-chambers,[15] designated as '*Appartamenti dell'Estate*' and a new private chapel built on Renaissance principles of architecture. In doing so, Verdalle effectively merged his private chambers with those halls dedicated to public functions. The Pages' Hall demarcated the start of the private magistral chambers and led to a series of halls designed on the 'enfilade' principle, leading

progressively to the private magistral bedchamber. The route to the summer apartments provided the setting for the display of works of art, indirectly denoting magistral piety and erudition to observant visitors such as ambassadors. Verdalle's collection of paintings included easel works by the Tuscan artist Filippo Paladini (1544–1614), who executed the altarpiece *Our Lady with Saints John the Baptist and Paul, and Knights* for the new magistral chapel,[16] a painting of the *Ascension,*[17] and a devotional painting of the grand master's namesake, the Hospitaller Saint *St Ugo*,[18] as well as an oval *Portrait of Verdalle* in cardinal's robes.[19]

Although the summer chapel is still extant, little is known of the chapel in the winter apartments. Its earliest known description is in a manuscript in the archives of the Order from the Vilhena magistry (1722–1736).[20] It describes how the chapel in the summer wing built by Grand Master Verdalle was the more prominent one, '*costrutta in vera forma di Capella, maggiore dell'altra*' (see Plate 6b). This description implies that the chapel in the winter apartments did not occupy a specially designated hall but one that may have been converted into a chapel after the Verdalle alterations did away with the chapel built by La Cassiere.

The description of its furnishings similarly suggest a more modest arrangement than that afforded to the summer chapel, as shown by its early seventeenth-century altar and altarpiece that are currently found inside St John's Co-Cathedral (see Plate 7). The altarpiece is described as a sixteenth-century triptych depicting the *Deposition, St John the Evangelist and St Mary Magdalen* and as having been imported from Rhodes. In fact, the triptych is of Netherlandish origin and is now being attributed to the circle of Jan van Scorel. Its date of origin indicates that the altarpiece may have been meant for the first magistral chapel built by La Cassière. The mid-eighteenth-century manuscript also mentions that within the winter chapel were stored over 100 relics, which were kept in a two-leafed Hagiothecum. Little else is known about the Hagiothecum, which should not be confused with a similar reliquary once kept inside the conventual church of the Order. The devotion to saintly relics was actively promoted by Grand Master Verdalle. His interest in the Order's saints may have been triggered by the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and should perhaps be seen as a measure to establish the religious foundations of the Order in response to the presence in Malta (and elsewhere) of other religious orders which also sought to attract novices from the noble families.[21]

Verdalle employed the visual arts effectively, to evoke the Order's 'ancestral' saints and *beati*, establishing an imagined lineage that was based on piety and Hospitaller tradition. Verdalle was also interested in excavating the burial sites of early Christian martyrs and used the remains of these martyrs (transformed into relics) as material evidence of history. On his return from Rome to Malta in 1588, Verdalle stopped in Messina and ordered the restoration of the church of the Order of St John there. Celebrations were held following the discovery of the interred bodies of the martyr saints Placido, Antichio, Vittorino and their sister Flavia Vergine.[22] When Verdalle commissioned Giacomo Bosio to write the history of the Order, he specified the need to include descriptions of the Order's saints and *beati* with illustrations, one of which was to be copied from a devotional painting that belonged to him, the already-mentioned painting of *St Ugo*, which was kept in the private

chapel of the Magistral Palace. The painting was later described by Bosio, who recounted how the grand master had sent the painting to him in Rome, where he was drafting the official history of the Order, which was eventually published in 1594.[23] The grand master expressly wished to use an engraving from the painting as an illustration in the *Istoria*.

The winter chapel was embellished in later years by successive grand masters, although the fact that it does not feature in visitors' descriptions of the Palace suggests that it never reached the same level of magnificence as the summer chapel built by Verdalle. The winter chapel may have fulfilled the private functions of the grand masters' religious devotions whereas the summer chapel may have been the preferred venue for more public religious functions. The chapels were progressively endowed by grand masters by means of their *spoglio*, through the bequest known as the *quinto*. Alof de Wignacourt's *spoglio* can be ranked as one of the most opulent by magistral standards. He bequeathed to the magistral estate several wall hangings made of damask[24] as well as an illuminated choral book bearing his family's coat of arms.[25] (see Plate 8). The Wignacourt choral book is smaller than those commissioned for the conventual church, indicating that it was intended to be viewed from a shorter distance in the palace chapels.[26]

Grand Master Vasconcellos also endowed the palace with paintings and other decorative furnishings. To the palace chapel he left the wall hangings in brocade damask and a canopy made of red and yellow damask.[27] Gregorio Caraffa included in his bequest a portrait of *St Dominic in Soriano* as well as other, unnamed, small devotional pictures.[28] He bequeathed other important pieces of art to the magistral office (*vuole che restino in Palazzo per Stato*), among them one unnamed painting with an ivory cross embedded within it and covered in glass, a silver-framed painting of the *Immaculate Conception* (1655–1667), a gilt-framed painting of the *Madonna and Child Jesus*and a gilt-framed pastel-on-paper picture of the *Magdalen*.[29] By the second half of the eighteenth century, one of the magistral chapels included a painting of the *Nativity* by Trevisani, which is mentioned in a contemporary account.[30]

Secular ritual at the magistral chapel

The magistral chapel in the summer apartments fulfilled other purposes besides providing the space for the performance of the grand master's private religious duties. Its location at the end of an *enfilade* of private chambers permitted a processional or ceremonial approach or exit. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the chapel began to fulfil a greater public role in that it became the location for ceremonies which exposed the grand master's private devotion to public spectacle, and thus to the scrutiny of the wider population. Information about this can be found among the accounts of processions and other ceremonials conducted within the conventual church, which are described in great detail in the two eighteenth-century double-volume entitled '*Ceremoniale*'.[31] Among descriptions of religious duties pertaining to the liturgical calendar, feast-days, ordinations, pontifical masses, magistral burials and other important instances that called for ceremonial

forms of remembrance, four accounts stand out for their description of the Magistral Palace as the locus for three types of ceremonies.

The first ceremony in the magistral chapel described in the *Ceremoniale* took place during the mastership of Perellos y Roccaful, who exercised patronage and ceremonial in a manner that defined the high watermark of Baroque culture in Hospitaller history. A detailed account is given of the protocol that governed the translation of the relic of St Vincent Ferrer from the magistral chapel to the conventual church in 1717.[32] Numerous dignitaries of the Order, as well as the Bishop of Malta and Grand Master Perellos accompanied by other knights who formed the magistral court, filed into the chapel to witness the presentation of the relic into the hands of the prior, Monsignor Alpheran de Bussan. The assembly must have made for a solemn spectacle, gathering as the attendees did in full regalia within the ornate chapel, which had been specially embellished for the occasion. As they walked out of the chapel in procession and headed towards the palace, an equally strong picture would have impressed itself on the minds of the observing knights and populace, linking the sacred relic with magistral authority. The performative effect of the procession, with the sacred relic at its head, eloquently articulated the moment when the Magistral Palace held a religious or ritual significance on a par with that of the conventual church.

Another ceremony took place during the mastership of Ramon Despuig. It centred on the translation of the *corpo santo* of St Felix, presented as a gift to the Order by Clement XII in 1739. This time the ceremony was even more lavish, extending over a number of days. The ceremonial involved the relic's processional entry into the palace and, a number of days later, an equally impressive emanation from the Magistral Palace towards the conventual church. In the interval, a sign was placed above the main entrance to the Palace with an inscription in Latin announcing the presence of the papal gift of the holy cadaver of St Felix. Within the ornately decorated chapel, the cadaver of St Felix was displayed and enshrined within a gilt case that also held a phial of the saint's blood.

A significant detail given in the account was that the *corpo santo* was displayed inside the magistral chapel **for public veneration**: '*si espose il Sagro Deposito sull'Altare della detta Cappella Magistrale dell'Appartamento d'Esta, riccamente adornato con copioso numero di candele, alla pubblica Venerazione di* ***tutt'il Popolo***'.[33] The presence of the holy cadaver in the Magistral Palace was thus a unique occasion for the populace to enter the Magistral Palace and walk through the *piano nobile*. Persons could walk in off the street to venerate (or gape at) the holy cadaver, yet equally extraordinary was the opportunity to walk through rooms and corridors that were intended for the grand master's court and his guests. Another interesting detail was the inclusion of a *Portrait of Pope Clement XI*, donor of the holy cadaver, which was also on display in the magistral chapel. A visual narrative of the highest moral order displayed within the confines of the grand master's residence was thus sealed by means of the portrait signifying the presence of the pope together with the holy cadaver that established the holy presence of sainthood, both housed within the magistral chapel. The converging images symbolically marked another extraordinary

moment in the religious identity of the foremost Hospitaller knight of the Order of St John.

Several years later, in 1765, Grand Master Manuel Pinto da Fonseca was to host a similarly major ceremony within the magistral chapel which brought in crowds of all levels of society into the *piano nobile* of the Palace: the solemn translation of the relics of St Louis of France.[34] Some years earlier, another symbolical development had unfolded in the magistral chapel: that of a baptism ceremony. The first baptism took place in 1750, when Prior Rull baptized a neophyte, probably a slave who had converted to Christianity. Why this ceremony should have taken place in the palace chapel is unclear. The neophyte remains unnamed while his two spiritual godparents are named: the grand master himself and Baroness Inguanez. The latter may hold the key to understanding the introduction of baptismal ceremony in the magistral chapel, through the privilege afforded to the family of the Governor of Notabile (Mdina). By permitting the ceremony to take place in the ornate master's chapel and by agreeing to act as spiritual godparent, Grand Master Pinto ensured that the Inguanez family henceforth felt indebted to him and the Order. The baptism was witnessed by Knights Grand Cross at the magistral court as well as by other knights and Baron Inguanez; it was followed by a reception in the summer chambers of the grand master. Several years later, in 1768, Grand Master Pinto once more officiated at a baptism within the magistral chapel, this time of the newly born son of the governor of Notabile, Baron D'Amico Inguanez.[35] The account of the ceremony starts with the statement that the grand master wished to honour the governor by hosting the baptism in the magistral chapel, which had been opulently decorated for the occasion. The altar was embellished with candles, flowers and a gilt statue depicting *Christ being baptized by St John the Baptist* encased within a niche in ebony encrusted with precious stones and gilded in bronze. The baptism was witnessed by several members of the D'Amico Inguanez family and other Maltese noble families as well as by distinguished knights of the Order. It was also an occasion for the exchange of gifts between the grand master and his guests, which was done according to contemporary protocols of honour and exchange. The ceremony can be seen to symbolize more than one meaning: within the context of Hospitaller life, the hosting of a baptism ceremony was the closest that a grand master could formally and publicly get in articulating one facet of family life that was, by statute, otherwise forbidden to him. Within the geographical context of his rule over the Maltese islands and their people, the political symbolism of the sacramental ceremony of the baptism of a Maltese nobleman's child embraced within the Hospitaller context of the magistral chapel could not have gone amiss: in expressing magistral liberality with the Maltese nobility, Grand Master Pinto effectively re-affirmed the authority of his statutory role over the Maltese.

To conclude, this chapter has presented a picture of the private religious life of Hospitaller knights, focussing on the architecture and embellishment of the magistral chapels in the sixteenth century as well as on the art and artefacts that give visibility to specific Hospitaller religious values, particularly on that of Charity. The study has also shown how in later years, the magistral chapel provided the

locus of convergence between private religious devotion and the public religious identity of the grand master by means of the introduction of ritual and ceremony in the eighteenth century.

Notes

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1 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1122; Seneca, *De Beneficiis II*, 6.
2 D. F. Allen, 'Catholic Synthesis of Warfare, Learning and Lay Piety on the Eve of the Council of Trent', in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert and H. J. Nicholson (Ashgate, 2007), pp. 255–68.
3 T. Vella, 'The Paintings of the Order of St John in Malta: Hospitaller Art Collections and Patronage from the Late Fifteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century', Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (University of Bristol, 2012).
4 Seneca, *De Beneficiis II*, 6. I thank Stephen d'Evelyn for kindly drawing my attention to these lines.
5 N. Z. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison, WI, 2000), p. 15.
6 P. Cassar, 'The Medical and Social Services under the Knights', in *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798*, ed. V. Mallia Milanes (Malta, 1993), pp. 475–82.
7 Fra Francois Budes Tertre Joan (d. 1674) owned an alabaster statue of figure of Charity; NLM, Malta, Cod. AOM 931 (12) no. 3, f.8v: '*Statues d'alabastre, une Charité et trois figures*'. Fra Rene Vexel du Tertre (d.1666) owned a painting depicting Roman Charity; ibid. no. 5, f.17v: '*un tableau de Charité Romayne*'.
8 NLM, Malta Cod. AOM 924, No. 3, f.30v: '*S. Luigi Re di Francia in atto di dar elemosina*'.
9 At their death, Hospitaller knights could bequeath gifts to the value of one-fifth of the value of their property, termed the '*quinto*'. The remaining four-fifths of the deceased knight's holdings were collectively termed the '*spoglio*' (spoils).
10 The biblical episodes inscribed are the following: '*HOSPITIO EXCIPERE ADVENAS, Genes.19.2*', '*LIBERARE CAPTIVOS, Jerem 19.1*', '*POTERE SITIENTES, 1.Reg.18.4*', '*VESTIRE NUDOS,* Job, 31.16.Ecc', '*AEGROS CURARE,* 2 Sam.34.12', '*ESURIENTES PASCERE,* Genes, 18.2, Ec', as well as a two lines of explanatory text, also in Latin.
11 D. Stone and K. Sciberras, 'Saints and Heroes: Frescos by Filippo Paladini and Leonello Spada', in *Palace of the Grand Masters in Valletta*, ed. A. Ganado (Malta, 2001), pp. 139–57.
12 T. Vella, 'Picturing the Piazza: A Viewpoint on Valletta', *Treasures of Malta*, 17:2 (Easter, 2011), 68–77.
13 J. Vella, 'La Cassière's Palace Complex: The Sixteenth Century Origins of the Grandmaster's Palace in Valletta', in *A Timeless Gentleman. Festschrift in honour of Maurice de Giorgio*, ed. G. Bonello (Malta, 2014), pp. 65–82.
14 T. Vella, The Paintings of the Order of St John in Malta, pp. 70–4.
15 M. Chatenet, 'The King's Space: The Etiquette of Interviews at the French Court in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Politics of Space: European Courts ca. 1500–1750*, ed. M. Fantoni, G. Gorse and M. Smuts (Rome, 2009), pp. 193–208.
16 M. G. Paolini and D. Bernini, *Filippo Paladini*, Exhibition Catalogue (Palermo, 1967), p. 25.
17 Cathedral Archives of Malta, *Dispropriamenti*, vol. 1, *Spoglio* Verdala, f. 8: '*Un quadretto dell'Ascensione che ha avuta da Fra Fran.co Le merle armarien che era del Ill. mo Cardinale il Gran Maestro*'.

18 G. Bosio, *Le Imagini de' Beati, e Santi della Sacra Religione di S. Gio.Gierosolimitano* . . ., 2nd edn (Palermo, 1633), pp. 63–4.
19 H. Scicluna, catalogue no. 225. J. Toffolo, *Image of a Knight: Portrait Prints and Drawings of the Knights of St John in the Museum of the Order of St John* (London, 1988), p. 26.
20 NLM, Malta, Cod. AOM 1953, Libro IV, Cap. XXVI, f. 241: '*Delle due cappelle nel Palazzo Magistrale*'.
21 S. Fiorini, 'Malta in 1530', in *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798*, p. 140, fn. 95.
22 NLM, Malta, Cod. AOM 235, *Trattato della Maggior chiesa Conventuale di S. Gio / opera del Comend.re fra Gio Dom.co Manso* (1698), f. 18.
23 Bosio, *Imagini*, pp. 63–4.
24 NLM, Malta Cod. AOM 924 'A', f. 2v.
25 Ibid. Libr Ms 512.
26 Irene Muscat, *Liturgical Books and Manuscripts of the Order of St John located in the Archives at the National Library, Valletta, Malta*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of Malta, 2006), p. 87.
27 NLM, Malta Cod. AOM 924, f. 30v.
28 Ibid. AOM 925, f. 3v.
29 Ibid.
30 Anon., *A Description of Malta* . . . (Malta, 1801), p. 17.
31 NLM, Malta Cod. AOM 1952; ibid. AOM 1953, transcribed in *Culto e Devozione dei Cavalieri a Malta*, introduction and transcription by Giovanni Scarabelli (Malta, 2004).
32 NLM, Malta Cod. AOM 1953, Libro III Cap. II, f. 13.
33 '[The cadaver] was displayed on the Altar of the magistral chapel in the summer wing, richly adorned with numerous candles, for the public veneration of the populace', author's translation; ibid. Cap. V, f. 38.
34 Ibid., Cap. XXVI, f. 101.
35 Ibid., Cap. XXV, f. 96.

20 Venice, Hospitaller Malta, and fear of the plague

Culturally conflicting views

Victor Mallia-Milanes

This chapter seeks to understand a theme which has been far too long kept in the shadows: the nature of the relationship between Venice and Hospitaller Malta as determined by the two States' fear of the plague and other forms of disease and by their controversial assumptions on such epidemics. These differences reflected yet another reality. The stage which medical science had reached in this regard allowed ample room for wide divergence of opinion on causation, on the very nature of the disease, and on the effective measures to contain it. To say that the plague was a more lethal force than any other deadly phenomenon is to state a self-evident truth. Much more destructive than the corso, it militated against the peaceful and legitimate movement of merchants and merchandise between one port-city and another, relentlessly interrupting lines of communication. Much more ruthless than slavery, it ravaged towns and villages, disrupted the tenor and normal rhythm of ordinary everyday life, and decimated populations. This explained the rigour with which Venice and Hospitaller Malta approached quarantine and other related defensive mechanisms. On arrival in Malta in 1530, the Hospitallers applied the same regulations governing public health on early sixteenth-century Rhodes[1] and observed them with religious scruple. The extent of such inflexibility on the part of the Order often provoked Venetian opposition, at times suspecting ulterior reasons motivating it.

In 1765, to cite one example, the Venetian health authorities (the *Provveditori alla Sanità*) complained of the excessive rigidity adopted by the Maltese quarantine officials in the fumigation of letters. Having been fumigated on arrival at Hospitaller Malta, letters addressed to Venice from Tripoli on North Africa reached the Adriatic city allegedly torn up – which was not at all pleasant, they said.[2] In Venice the fumigation of letters was done differently. The process was not as stringent and allowed for more privacy and confidentiality. This explains why it elicited such a reaction.[3]

The Venetians attributed the form which such procedures in Malta assumed to a lack of discipline. The Venetian resident minister on Hospitaller Malta, to whom the complaint had been addressed, was instructed to approach the island's health officials on this delicate issue in the hope of persuading them to change their ways, update their methods, and start adopting more cautious and more prudent practices. That, he was told, would spare Malta 'some very unpleasant consequences'.[4]

This last remark may well have been vaguely referring to the evil consequences of a plague epidemic. But the tone may also have been one of a subtly concealed threat, betraying the hostile perception which the Republic of Venice traditionally entertained of the Order of St John in early modern times. What Venice implied was quite obvious. Fumigation offered the Hospitallers 'an excellent opportunity to scrutinize the contents of all incoming correspondence',[5] a practice the Adriatic Republic was not prepared to tolerate. William Hardman calls the procedure, adopted again by the British on early nineteenth-century Malta, a necessary 'system of espionage'.[6]

Malta's sanitary authorities appear to have accepted Venice's complaint. In fact, in January 1766 the Venetian minister pointed out that the batch of letters addressed to Venice, which had lately reached Malta from Tripoli, were marked, as instructed, on the outside to indicate that they were proceeding from a suspect city, that they were not to be opened in the lazaretto, but to be slightly slit for purposes of disinfection only as required by the local health authorities.[7]

There were several other occasions when Venice questioned Malta's decisions in public health matters. In 1726 the Republic's health commission requested an explanation why one Captain Raimondo Vermalle's *martigliana*, proceeding from Tripoli, had been granted a meagre twenty-one-day quarantine. Malta claimed it was conforming to what was being practised in Spain, France, and all ports in Italy for vessels not coming from specifically suspect areas. Tripoli, reads Malta's response, had been for years free of the remotest suspect. Malta's decision, it claimed, had been correct, insisting that thoroughness was the hallmark of the Hospitaller system.[8] In August 1727, in two separate sheets,[9] the Venetian Provveditori referring to the revived contagion in Cairo and Alexandria, which spread to Smyrna, Cyprus, and Rhodes, demanded an explanation on the suspect French tartan of Padron Liotand and its dealings with Malta. The island's health commission declared coldly and succinctly that 'in no way does Malta administer quarantine to vessels with a foul bill of health.' They would simply be supplied with the necessary provisions and ordered to leave.[10] In October 1757, Venice again demanded precise information on the prizes that French and English *armateurs* had been conducting to Malta. The year before, in 1756, Anglo-French commercial rivalry had been extended to the Mediterranean when the French seized the British naval base of Minorca in the opening sea battle of the Seven Years War in the European theatre. Hospitaller Malta was a politically neutral principality. Over the years it had developed into 'a French trading post' and 'an asylum for war-weary vessels'.[11] The Venetian resident minister pointed out that Venice's observations on this issue were not accurate. For months, he wrote in reply, none of these *armateurs* had ever approached the island. The latest prize allowed in was an armed English man-of-war seized on its way from the Levant by two French vessels cruising in the central Mediterranean, forming part of a French squadron then anchored in Malta's harbour. The year before, he continued, English *armateurs* had transferred several such prizes to the island. They proceeded from all parts of the Mediterranean, east and west, with rich cargoes of silk, wool, coffee, and so on. Parts of these were even allowed to be sold on Malta. Whoever sailed

into Malta's harbour, he stressed, was subject to the same code of sanitary laws, irrespective of rank and nationality.[12]

Sensitive to her economy's overwhelming dependence on trade with all the ports and markets of the vast Ottoman Empire (a permanent reservoir of plague infection), her *stato da mar*'s geographical proximity to the empire's extraordinarily long coastline bordering on the Adriatic and the eastern Mediterranean, north and south, the unavoidable exposure of her merchants and sailors to such fearsome risks and hazards of infection, and her certain knowledge that such outbreaks would undermine her primacy on international markets, Venice was constantly on the alert for the appearance of the mildest symptoms of the plague. She kept her wide network of consulates and other similar commercial agencies stationed all over Europe, the Mediterranean, and beyond, both fully informed of developments, and in return receiving daily reports of any changing situation. To these centres, which included Hospitaller Malta, Venice circulated newsletters, or *avvisi*, regularly. A *Terminatione* was generally attached to them. This was an account of the latest developments, issued in printed form by (in our case) the health magistracy. It included a set of measures, having the force of law, ordained to prevent or contain the spread of plague or other contagious diseases.[13]

Practical, useful, and rewarding, these *avvisi* demanded, and often determined, an immediate response from the receiving State. In June 1726, on learning of a plague outbreak in Cairo, spreading to Damietta and Alexandria, the Maltese health authorities immediately chased away from the island two vessels proceeding from those areas.[14] The observations spelled out in these news-letters were radical, emphatic, precise, and exhaustive. They identified the exact locality where the first signs of the contagion had been discovered, the routes taken by the spreading contagion, and the factors to which they attributed the outbreak; they sometimes confirmed rumours, at others denied them; they prescribed, often dictated, the measures to be taken to prevent it or curb its spread; they reported with jubilation the retreat of the contagion, even though at times it re-emerged within a few days in a nearby village or port. In brief, these *avvisi* left no space for the discretion of local authorities, no room for dissenting views. Was Venice's public health policy an instrument of power exercised through knowledge and experience and indeed an extended form of spacial control? In almost every reply acknowledging receipt of these letters, the Maltese health commission felt the need to reassert again and again that the Order's uninterrupted medical tradition, the wide precautions they took, had consistently rewarded Malta's administrative approach to this recurring affliction with considerable success.[15]

The Order was generally receptive to the ideas prescribed in Venice's public health ordinances. Before the Venetian ministry had been set up on Hospitaller Malta, all incoming letters regarding public health were addressed to the island's *Deputazione della Sanità*; from the mid-1750s, they were directed to Venice's own resident minister accredited to the grandmaster's court in Valletta. Most of these notices dealt with the identification of all forms of epidemics, which were generally imported from the neighbouring coast of mainland Greece and ports in the south-western Ottoman Empire. On receipt of any such *avviso*, the minister would pass

all the information to the grandmaster who would in turn take whatever decision he and his venerable council deemed necessary in Malta's interests and in those of trade and navigation in the area.[16] In September 1761, Grandmaster Emanuel Pinto confessed that in such difficult circumstances he gladly welcomed Venice's *avvisi* as generous instructions whose execution he would not for a moment hesitate to order.[17] The next year the minister reconfirmed that all the directives the Venetian State health magistracy was pleased to communicate to Malta were immediately put into practice by the island's sanitary commission.[18]

Although Venice kept asking, at almost regular intervals, for detailed information about Hospitaller Malta's public health policies and practices, her Sanità magistracy was fully cognizant of the methods the Order adopted and the scrupulous way these were observed. Surviving documentation shows that regular correspondence between the health institutions of both States had been going on for long years. The archives of Venice's *Provveditori alla Sanità* contain an interesting document, drawn up on 9 February 1721 and signed by Malta's six health commissioners. It deals in extraordinary detail with the manner with which vessels, persons, and all types of merchandise were thoroughly cleansed at the lazaretto of Malta before being granted pratique.[19] Two years later, in 1723, in response to Venice's persistent requests for information, Malta's health commissioners drew up yet another meaningful account of the caring measures taken on the island to keep the plague at a safe distance. Venice's perseverance in having accurate information at this particular point in time was perhaps more than justified as the early 1720s, which marked the 'last outbreak of plague' in Western Europe, had devastated Marseilles and most of Provence. No detail in Malta's report was insignificant. Vessels proceeding from the Levant or the Barbary Coast had first to spend a few days in isolation for observation before being admitted to the lazaretto. This gave the health commissioners time to assess better what the vessel and its crew had experienced during the voyage. If nothing suspect resulted, they were administered quarantine. It was part of Malta's 'most exacting precautions' to impose a twenty-day quarantine on vessels, crews, and certain categories of merchandise covered by a clean bill of health. All other goods, including prizes conducted to Malta by corsairs, were administered a full quarantine of forty days in the lazaretto warehouses. Here wardens would have them ventilated in a way that strictly conformed to the procedures and regulations governing lazarettos and quarantine in Naples and Sicily.[20] This compliance with the standards of the two neighbouring kingdoms would spare the local health authorities, explained the report, getting involved in unnecessary political nuisance.[21] At the end of their report, the Health Commission pointed out that if all countries felt bound to set strict watches to avoid contagion, how much more cautious and vigilant would a small island like Malta have to be when its government was fully aware that a serious outbreak of plague would instantly convert the island into one massive graveyard.[22]

The Sanità's task was a grand commitment. Venice's persistent, sometimes irritating, search for details on Malta's public health policy was perhaps pragmatically understandable. Her repetitions reflected her experience of constantly recurring epidemics. The Serenissima imposed quarantine in 1374; she was the

first in Europe to set up a permanent plague hospital, the *Lazaretto Vecchio*, in 1423, followed by a second, the *Lazaretto Nuovo*, a convalescent home, in 1468 with adjacent warehouses for merchandise and living quarters for people.[23] Venice had great practical knowledge of how easily plague could break out and how more easily it spread in all directions. She had ample experience in the forms of quarantine she 'enforced . . . on persons and goods' to curb the disease.[24] These qualities rendered her 'exchange of information' through her wide intelligence networks 'on the movement of infection' authoritative and of inestimable value – certainly one of her major cultural contributions to the West.[25] What essentially lay behind the *avvisi* was Venice's striving towards concerted action. She was sceptical of other States' methods and their weakly enforced quarantine systems. That regulations were disobeyed and quarantine breached were not rare occurrences. Avarice and market interests often tried to circumvent sanitary rigour. Venice considered her system the best enduring system available at the time to face the supreme test in life. In essence her public health policy was based on an aggregate of vibrant measures – experience, observation, isolation – that over the long term were believed to have positively served individual human needs and public social interests, although there were several tragic instances when they failed to achieve their desired effect.

Like Venice, the Hospitallers, with their deep sense of organization and long medical tradition, acknowledged the magnitude of the problem and, also like Venice, gave great attention to public health. On mid-fifteenth-century Rhodes they issued a set of 'detailed regulations', later elaborated under D'Amboise (1503–1512), to protect the island against the plague.[26] The Hospitallers' performance during their eight-year odyssey from Rhodes to Malta between 1523 and 1530 was a public-relations exercise which provided ample evidence of how competent they were to deal with frequent outbreaks and to ensure that infection did not spread further. On arrival in Malta, they applied the same old Rhodian regulations and practices, albeit modified to reflect the evolution in medical thought. The Hospital's defences against the plague were also evident in the sophisticated procedures it adopted to prevent or contain the transmission of infection. The Grand Hospital in Valletta, and 'its numerous subsidiary institutions', says Anthony Luttrell, 'formed part of an extensive apparatus',[27]designed, confirms J. W. Konvitz, 'as a first line of defence against the plague'.[28] The lazaretto, which offered an extensive range of amenities, was situated on a tiny island in Marsamxetto harbour; the quarantine station was set up on the southern side of the city of Valletta beneath the bastion of Castile and the lower baracca, along the Valletta quay on the Grand Harbour.[29]

Notwithstanding the obsession of both States with stringent precautions, neither the Venetian Republic nor Hospitaller Malta succeeded in remaining entirely free from visitations of this killer disease. Both had their own scarifying experiences – like the major devastating outbreaks of plague of 1575–1577 and 1630–1631 for Venice and 1676 for Hospitaller Malta.

Hospitaller Malta was not only the recipient of this continuous exchange of knowledge on such delicate issues. If Venice sent regular dispatches to the island, so did Malta to the Adriatic Republic. The dissemination of information regarding

outbreaks of infectious diseases and their movements was a universal public obligation, a service to humanity. Hospitaller Malta acted, every time the need arose, as the original source of information. A few instances would suffice.

- On 21 October 1726 Malta informed Venice that there had been no further signs of the plague in Alexandria since 10 or 15 June.[30]
- In mid-October 1761 the Adriatic city was informed that there was an outbreak of plague at Benghazi. It dragged on to late December.[31] It was only by the end of March that one Venetian captain, Giuseppe Bevilaqua, on arrival in Malta from Benghazi reported that the contagion in that city had disappeared.[32]
- On 13 December 1762 Venice's attention was again drawn to the fact that Malta itself was then suffering a contagious influenza, marked with high fever. It was not a deadly disease: 'only the odd person, advanced in age, perhaps', pointed out the minister, rather uncharitably, 'succumbed from the effect'.[33]

The list can be drawn up indefinitely. On 27 July 1764, in a separate letter this time to the Venetian magistracy of trade,[34] the minister pointed out that the latest news he received from plague-stricken Naples was distressing. It was painful to learn, he wrote, of the numerous cases there of illnesses and deaths, and heart-rending to behold a grand city like Naples, a centre of prosperity, transaction, and sociability, abandoned by all foreigners and deserted by its own nobility retiring hastily to the country to escape that particular wave of infection. A week earlier he felt the need to inform Venice's health commission of the situation. On 21 July, he had sent Venice an excerpt from a letter his friend had received from Abruzzo, depicting the prevailing situation in an almost surrealistic style. The writer was one such nobleman fleeing Naples. His graphic observations, according to the minister, were worthy of serious reflection. He was careful not to alarm Venice's Sanità unnecessarily, stressing the point that although the person writing from Abruzzo was a first-hand witness to the horrors he recounted, the contents of his letter had not yet been reconfirmed by other sources. The traumatic impact the horrible image of the plague had had on his imagination and emotions may have distorted the true picture.

'My friend', reads the vivid letter from Abruzzo, 'the current hardships have exhausted all my energy to the extent of having felt compelled to retire to my country residence with all my family, and leave the city where the infection is spreading at an excessive speed. Doctors call it', he wrote, not without a sharp sense of biting sarcasm, 'a benign contagion, where one simply passes away benignly, and indeed crowds are dying benignly. Those taken ill are transported in wagons to the hospitals; the dead are carried away from inhabited places to their resting place and given a benign burial. Oh what a spectacle! What a humiliating panorama! Here [in the country] we have so far been spared the benign contagion, but this week a vast number of peasants have returned from Puglia where they had been harvesting their produce. In Puglia the disease has wrought as much havoc as in Naples. These peasants carried the infection with them back home, to their hitherto healthy wives

and children who had remained behind. Within four days, 12 have passed away and 40 others have been reported ill. I'm afraid this place can no longer remain unscathed [by the outbreak],' he bemoaned, 'something which is terrifying me'.[35]

Not all sources, of course, were reliable. Valid views mingled with wild, false, and malicious rumours on the outbreak, spread, or disappearance of infectious diseases throughout the Mediterranean and were as conflicting and erratic as they were dependable.[36] In 1775, for example, the Turks disseminated a malicious rumour that plague had broken out in the Morea in order to scare creditor States away.[37] Such rumours, or claims based on such rumours, had to be instantly corrected to avoid unnecessary hardship. In 1767 Malta's trade links with Sicily and Naples were unexpectedly suspended as a result precisely of a false rumour reaching the two southern Italian States via Rome that a contagious disease had broken out on Malta, when in fact the island 'has always been enjoying perfect health, without the remotest fear of any such threat'. The Venetian minister felt the need to inform directly the sanitary commission of his State of these events lest they might think there was something suspicious if he concealed them. After all Venice would still receive a very likely distorted version of the events from her resident minister Gabrielli in Naples and from that city's health authorities. This was the month of September. The worst part of summer was over. The malignant fever that had intensely afflicted the whole of Italy had subsided. At no time had there been the faintest signs of any noxious disease on Malta. What could have possibly given rise to this malicious rumour was the return of the Order's squadron to Malta in mid-July. On their way they had called at the ports of Naples, Gaeta, Capo d'Anzo, and Portofino. At none of them did the squadron encounter any sanitary problems, but on arrival in Malta, thirty crew members fell ill with fever; they were kept under observation and after ten days were granted pratique. 'This', claims the Venetian minister, 'is a sincere account of all that happened.' On being provided with this information, he continued, Sicily lifted its ban, and commerce with that kingdom resumed. Several vessels, found anchored at Malta, sailed out to their original destination.[38] But Naples was not convinced, questioning the Sicilian Viceroy's decision. A member of the Health Commission of Syracuse had had to be sent to Malta to see at first hand the true situation.[39] Reaching Malta on 19 September, he did not take long to realize from the brisk movement of the people within and outside the city and the normal vigorous activities in the harbour that all was well.[40] The only problem that remained was the characteristic bureaucracy of the Court of Naples, its proverbially slow pace to reach a decision, and the voracity of the harbour custodians in Sicily and Calabria.[41]

Again on 11 November 1763 the Venetian minister was the first to report to the health board in Venice that Malta itself had been placed in quarantine as a result of a Dutch war vessel anchored in the main harbour earlier that month, after having left Gibraltar thirty-five days earlier. According to the captain's sworn declaration, during the voyage all men on board enjoyed perfect health although two had died of an ordinary illness. With Gibraltar having close trade contacts with the Barbary Regencies, they were given a twenty-day quarantine of observation. On 10 November, during the night, two of the soldiers managed to escape on their

own skiff but were caught and arrested the next morning. They confessed that what they had done was to save their lives. The captain's declaration was false. During their voyage, twenty-two members of the crew had died and several others taken ill. The grandmaster ordered a two-man medical team – a principal physician and a surgeon, both from the Holy Infirmary – to examine every single person on board the Dutch vessel at the lazaretto. On examination the team ruled out at once the existence of any contagious disease. The several illnesses, according to their diagnosis, ranged from an acute fever to chest pains to infected wounds that had been badly treated and allowed to turn gangrenous. The team attributed the illnesses and deaths to physical exertion and to the ill-treatment by the captain whom the document describes as eccentric and heartless. Delving deeper, one of the team dissected two of the corpses. In one the lungs were found drenched and rotting; the other died of gangrene. Sicily was informed of these developments. The Dutch vessel was granted pratique on 22 November 1763, but the Hospitaller island, though calm and released of any preoccupation about public health, remained in quarantine – in political quarantine, to be more accurate, pointed out the minister.[42] Sicily, 'which loves to exploit incidents like these', he wrote, 'may very well persist in keeping us deprived of all essential commodities as a result of the purposely prolonged suspension of trade'.[43]

To conclude: the concern Venice and Hospitaller Malta showed in matters of public health highlights a different aspect of their relations, one that differed from the perception that has normally been entertained of the two States. That concern did not reflect the several occasions, motivated by the desire of self-preservation, when the two put up a common front against the Ottoman Turks' ambitious westward drive. Neither did it mirror the settlements, whenever and however these were reached, of their traditional rivalry over privateering activity in the Mediterranean. These four forms of relations – anti-Muslim cooperation, mutual animosity over the corso, trade links, and public health – moved simultaneously at four different levels, each retaining its own pace and rhythm, each moving independently of the other three. I have not come across any shred of documentary evidence in support of any determining interaction among them. The dimension and motives of each appear to have been different. Within the broader socio-economic context, what was really at stake with a plague outbreak was not the perpetuation of the original or existing nature of political institutions but the preservation of humanity. Alongside the occasional conflict of ideas and the tension and spirited exchanges that this often created, and behind the obstinate defence of the methods adopted by either State in matters of public health, there were fundamental points of similarity and cross-fertilization. The driving force was the common good. Man occupied the centre stage of this aspect of the relationship. It was in man's general interests, in the interests of public health and those of man's main sources of livelihood, commerce and agriculture in particular, that the two States complied so readily with the prevailing emergencies. The cultural differences that at times stand out so sharply in their correspondence over plague manifestations were marked steps in their conscious endeavour to understand the malady's mysterious character and reach the best working solution possible. Fear of the enduring threat to public

health stimulated closer cooperation and generated over the years more effective defensive measures. This notwithstanding however, the true extent to which the waning of plague epidemics may be attributed to the sanitary measures imposed by Venice and the Order of the Hospital is perhaps difficult to determine at the present stage with any modicum of plausibility.

Notes

1 P. Cassar, *A Medical History of Malta* (London, 1965), p. 273. Fra Emericus D'Amboise was elected grandmaster on 10 July 1503 (Malta, Cod. 80, fol. 33v–4v) and died on 13 November 1512 (ibid. 82, fol. 34).
2 ASVen, *Provveditori alla Sanità*, busta 194, Letter 41, 27 February 1764 mv.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Cassar, *Medical History*, p. 291.
6 W. Hardman, *A History of Malta during the Period of the French and British Occupations 1789–1815* (London, 1909), p. 495.
7 ASVen, *Provveditori alla Sanità*, busta 550, filza 9, Letter 14, Malta, 8 January 1756.
8 Ibid., Letter 1, Malta, 4 February 1726.
9 See Ibid., busta 678, fol. 26, lettera circolare, 2 August 1727; for the letter of 16 August, ibid., busta 676, Letter 69, Malta, 23 September 1727.
10 Ibid.
11 R. Cavaliero, *The Last of the Crusaders* (London, 1960), p. 132.
12 ASVen, *Provveditori alla Sanità*, busta 550, filza 9, Letter 40, Malta, 14 October 1757.
13 See, for example, ibid., busta 674, Letter 146, Malta, 10 July 1724.
14 Ibid., busta 676, filza 66, Malta, 25 June 1726.
15 Ibid., filza 67, Malta, 16 September 1726; ibid., filza 68, Malta, 21 October 1726; ibid., filza 69, Malta, 23 September 1727; ibid., busta 670, filze 121–5, Malta, 1724–1725.
16 Ibid., busta 550, filza 9, Letter 31, Malta, 17 June 1761.
17 Ibid., Letter 30, Malta, 24 September 1761. See also ibid., Letter 25, Malta, 21 March 1763.
18 Ibid., Letter 26, 13 December 1762.
19 Ibid., busta 562, filza 4, 9 February 1721.
20 Ibid., busta 653, Letter 146. The letter was signed by Malta's *Deputatione della Sanità* – the Grand Marshall Carolus de Parnac, the Grand Prior of Lombardy Roberto Solaro, the Grand Prior of Hungary Francesco Antonio de Konigsregg [Franz Anton von Königsegg-Rothenfels], the Balì Antonio de Paz, Commendatore Don Marius Tedeschi, and Commendatore Joannes Alexius de Margou.
21 Ibid., busta 676, Letter 68, Malta, 21 October 1726.
22 Ibid., busta 653, Letter 147, 1 November 1723.
23 Cf. D. Chambers and B. Pullan, ed., *Venice*: *A Documentary History*, *1450–1630* (Oxford, 1992), p. 113; F. C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime History* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 17–18.
24 F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. S. Reynolds (London, 1972–73), p. 332.
25 The quote is taken from M. W. Flinn, 'Plague in Europe and the Mediterranean Countries', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 8:1 (1979), 146.
26 A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291–1530', *MO* 1, p. 73.
27 Ibid., p. 81.
28 J. W. Konvitz, *Cities and the Sea: Port City Planning in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore, 1978), p. 16.
29 D. Panzac, *Quarantaines et Lazarets: L'Europe et la Peste d'Orient* (Aix-en-Provence, 1986), pp. 170–2.

30 ASVen, *Provveditori alla Sanità*, busta 676, Letter 68, Malta, 21 October 1726.
31 Ibid., busta 550, filza 9, Letter 28, Malta, 20 December 1761.
32 Ibid., Letter 27, Malta, 1 April 1762.
33 Ibid., Letter 26, Malta, 13 December 1762.
34 See V. Mallia-Milanes, ed., *In the Service of the Venetian Republic: Massimiliano Buzzaccarini Gonzaga's Letters from Malta to Venice's Magistracy of Trade 1754–1776* (Malta, PEG, 2008), Letter LXXX, p. 349.
35 ASVen, *Provveditori alla Sanità*, busta 550, filza 9, Letter 19, Malta, 18 August 1764.
36 See, for example, ibid., Letter 1, Malta, 18 December 1775: '[E]sserne stata falsa la notizia e maliciosamente da' turchi inventata per allontanare le nazioni creditrici dalle parti della Morea.'
37 Ibid., Letter 1a, Malta, 18 December 1775.
38 Ibid., Letter 11, Malta, 12 September 1767.
39 Ibid., Letter 10, Malta, 20 September 1767.
40 Ibid.
41 '[L]a lunghezzza della Corte di Napoli sarà un motivo che noi ne soffriremo più a lungo li danni, prima che il Regno ne sieno spediti l'ordini, e che venga riconosciuta falsa e ideale la voce precorsa.' Ibid. Also ibid., Letter 9, Malta, 26 October 1767.
42 Ibid., Letter 16.
43 For the episode, ibid., Letters 24 (11 November 1763), 23 (23 November 1763), and 22 (27 December 1763).

21 Censoring the Hospitallers

The failed attempt at re-printing Ferdinando de Escaño's *Propugnaculum Hierosolymitanum* in Malta in 1756

William Zammit

Introduction

In late 1756, just a few months following the setting up of the State-owned and monopolistic printing press in Malta, the government of the Order of St John expressed its intention to re-print a quite hefty volume in Latin, originally printed in Seville in 1664 and authored by Ferdinando de Escaño. The publication delved into various historical, constitutional, theological and jurisdictional aspects pertaining to the Order.[1] The Roman Inquisition in Malta, however, successfully objected to its re-printing and that second edition never came out.

This case constitutes a rare and well-documented instance where a publication officially requested by the Order, and the contents of which dealt exclusively with the Hospitallers' set-up, was not allowed publication. It is certainly the only known such case to take place within the Order's own convent on the island of Malta.

Escaño and his publication

At the time of his publication, Ferdinando de Escaño was a lawyer in the service of the Order in the southern Spanish province of Boetica, more or less coinciding with modern-day Andalucía. Hailing from a distinguished family, Escaño also held state office in Spain. The author does not seem to have been a member of the Order, either as a fully fledged knight or as a conventual chaplain. Besides his *Propugnaculum*, Escaño was also the author of a number of other works, mostly of a legal nature.[2] He seemed to have been well-connected, well enough to dedicate the *Propugnaculum* to John of Austria the Younger (1629–1679), an illegitimate but recognized son of Philip IV of Spain and a member of the Order.[3] He was subsequently appointed auditor of the Spanish administration in Manila, to where he travelled with his family and where he performed service with distinction.[4]

The book's full title reads *Propvgnacvlvm / Hierosolymitanvm / Sive /Sacræ Religionis Militaris S. Ioannis Hierosolimitani / Militiæ Regularis compendium / Opus / Historicum, Politicum, Theologicum et Iuridicum*. The title page consists of an as yet unstudied signed Baroque copperplate engraving, featuring allegorical representations on either side.[5] It is surmounted by the arms of the Order, while those of Spain feature at the bottom, backed by the Hospitaller eight-pointed cross. It is folio-sized and contains 417 pages of main text. Internally, it is divided into 16 sections which cover various aspects relating to the Order's history, constitutional set-up and privileges (see Figure 21.1).[6]

Figure 21.1 Title page of de Escaño's *Propugnaculum Hierosolymitanum*, designed by Juan de Valdés Leal. Courtesy, National Library of Malta.

Hospitaller-related publications and their control

The Order's central administration in Malta always sought to scrutinize publications that dealt with any aspect related to it, prior to their printing, particularly, but not exclusively if they were authored by its own members. The effectiveness of measures taken in this respect enjoyed a mixed success. In the majority of cases, published histories of the Order consisted of officially commissioned ones from handpicked historians, which were scrutinized prior to their publication. The review of histories or any other works thus commissioned was far from being a mere formality, as was illustrated by the Imbroll case. Salvatore Imbroll, the Order's grand prior and a Maltese, in his capacity as the Order's official chronicler, had composed a history of the Order covering the turbulent period of Del Monte and La Cassière's magistracies.[7] Imbroll's work, contained in two large manuscript volumes, was approved for publication by the Council, following a favourable report from the reviewing commission.[8] In spite of this, Grand Master Lascaris still considered the work as containing assertions contrary to the Order's statutes and had a new commission appointed, resulting in the latter withdrawing the previously granted approval.[9] Notwithstanding such controls, things did not always work out right for the Order, as the publication of Vertot's celebrated history in 1726 amply demonstrated.[10]

The printing of works discussing the Order took place on a more or less regular basis and in various European countries. Such instances were generally followed by attempts to suppress unauthorized publications and at times by the revamping of pre-emptive controlling measures. To give just a few examples: the Order disassociated itself from Heinrich Pantaleon's *Militaris Ordinis Johannitorum*, printed in Basel in 1581, which ended up listed on the Church's Index of prohibited books. So did knight de Moncal's 1627 work, calling for the union of the Order to France.[11] When the offending author could be identified and successfully prosecuted, punishment followed. Such was the case with the Maltese priest Giovanni Luca Hebeier, who in 1634 printed an unauthorized work discussing the institutional procedures to be followed during the grand masters' election.[12] Again in this case the Order successfully managed to have the publication condemned by the Congregation of the Holy Office.

There is no evidence that Escaño's 1664 publication had been sanctioned or in any way approved by the central administration of the Order in Malta. Indeed, in what seems to have been a reaction to the unauthorized book, on 23 November 1663 the Order's Council of State issued among the most detailed instructions known, forbidding and penalizing the publication of Hospitaller-related material by all members of the Order, unless such material had been granted the express consent of the Grand Master and Council. For non-members of the Order, the latter's representatives in the area were to ensure that such works were not given the required imprimatur by the secular authorities.[13]

The Hospitaller attempt at re-printing Escaño's work

Following a century during which the Order's sovereign principality of Malta had been deprived of printing facilities as a result of disagreement with Rome over the exercise of rights of censorship, an agreement was reached, and in late June 1756 printing was re-introduced to the island, this time in the form of a state-owned press functioning within the grand master's own palace and enjoying absolute monopoly. The conditions set to allow printing to re-commence on the island most importantly regarded issues concerning controls over the printed output. The grand master, the bishop and the inquisitor all enjoyed equal rights of censorship, exercised through their respective censors, thus creating a rigid triple-censorship mechanism. Any work submitted for printing at the State press but which was refused the imprimatur by any of the three authorities would thus not be printed.[14]

In practice the censorship system functioned in the following manner: the individual or institution requesting the services of the press would submit a petition to the grand master's senior officials, describing the work to be printed. The manuscript – or a printed copy if the request was for the re-printing of an item already printed outside the island – was also submitted for scrutiny. Once the state's approval was given, the work was passed over to the diocesan and inquisitorial censors to be similarly scrutinized. The number of instances where one of the three censoring authorities objected to the printing of material submitted is limited to a handful of cases.

The extent of attention given to control over locally printed matter by the Inquisition is confirmed by its treatment of the general imprimatur issue. In September 1756, just a few months following the start of printing activity, the Inquisition was asked to grant a general imprimatur to a considerable number of works, thus eliminating the need for the printer to ask for inquisitorial clearance for every item submitted. The Order correctly claimed that this was a standard practice in, among other places, Sicily and Naples. Although some of the works listed (notably ephemeral matter and administrative forms) could be granted such a general imprimatur, the inquisitor of Malta, Gregorio Salviati (1754–1759), expressed his strong reservations at granting such a concession for other material. In his referral of the case to the Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome, Salviati referred to the danger of granting a general imprimatur to works vaguely described as treating legal aspects. He specifically mentioned the possibility of having the general imprimatur concession used by the Order to have the manuscript tomes of Giovanni Calli and of Carlo Michallef printed, both of which contained material of jurisdictional controversy.[15] The Order's inclusion of such a genre in its general imprimatur request may well have been a carefully planned stratagem to facilitate the re-printing of Escaño's work. In any case, Salviati's attention resulted in the Holy Office in Rome endorsing the inquisitor's objections, and such material was not granted the general imprimatur concession. In the context of the increasing sovereign claims of Grand Master Manuel Pinto (1741–1773) and an inquisitor who was determined to safeguard Rome's rights on the island, the stage was thus set for conflict over the Escaño matter.

The Order's request and the inquisitorial reaction

Although the *Propugnaculum* does not seem to have enjoyed the approval of the Order's central administration when it was published, the radically altered mid-eighteenth century scenario seems to have transformed it into a welcome tool, abetting the grand master cum prince's claims to untrammelled power, both where the magistracy and the principality were concerned. The importance of the book in this regard is confirmed by the fact that in 1746 the entire work was copied by hand in Malta. This manuscript copy was at some point deposited in the *Camera Segreta* of the Order's chancery, where the archives were housed.[16] This copy is identical to the original printed one, at least insofar as the objectionable passages later referred to by the inquisitorial censors are concerned. The only omissions from the manuscript consist of the preliminary pages, whereas the title page was abbreviated. The production of a manuscript copy is indicative that the book had become scarce indeed. The practice of storing particularly sensitive works in a more secure and secret area of the chancery is known to have been resorted to for other sensitive works, including Imbroll's manuscript history referred to earlier.[17]

In late 1756 the Order's government submitted the request for Escaño's work to be reprinted in Malta to Ignazio Teuma, the Maltese Jesuit censor appointed by Inquisitor Salviati.[18] In an obvious effort to avoid problems in obtaining the inquisitorial approval, Teuma was also informed that the bishop's censor had no objections to the request. Furthermore, Teuma's attention was drawn to the fact that the original edition had received all the due approvals for its publication, including that of the Spanish Inquisition. Given all this, the government official expressed his confidence with Teuma that there should not be any problems in approving the work. This, however, proved to be wishful thinking. Salviati, noticing the urge with which the request was being pushed and the apparent ease with which the bishop's censor had given his approval, referred the work to one of his best legal experts in inquisitorial service as well as to his auditor. Upon going through it, both expressed reservations about a number of assertions not considered to be in line with the Church's stand. As a follow-up, Salviati held a meeting with both examiners together and with his assessor, the Maltese Vittorio Gristi. The latter was certainly no lover of the Order, particularly of Grand Master Pinto whom he considered as an oppressor of the Maltese nation.[19] The bishop later admitted that his censor had been too lenient in his examination of the book; indeed some very serious statements prejudicial to the bishop's status vis-à-vis the grand master and which were pointed out by the inquisitorial officials, had been overlooked.[20] The consequence of the inquisitorial objections resulted in Salviati referring the case to the Congregation of the Holy Office for its consideration.

The objectionable content

Although cases of prohibition of the printing of works submitted to the Order's press in Malta were indeed very few and far between, even rarer is documentation providing the reasons for such a prohibition. This further increases the importance

of the two surviving reports discussing in detail the nature of the objectionable content in *Propugnaculum*. Both reports have recently been traced in the Salviati family archive held within the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*.[21]

The reports are undated and unsigned, but internal evidence points to them being compiled by the two senior inquisitorial officials who had originally been requested by Salviati to examine the publication. Both refer to the need for Teuma to re-examine the book carefully because even more objectionable material could well be found. Whereas one report quotes the objectionable passages and advises upon their elimination or modification, the other delves into the reasons why such excerpts could not be approved.[22] Both more or less discuss the objectionable material in the order it appears in the publication.

The first section of the book dealt with the Order's history. Here, however, the suppression of the Templar Order was also referred to. Philip the Fair's motives were described as evil and avaricious and the author was critical of Pope Clement V and the Council of Vienne's decision to suppress the Templars.[23] Although not the first Hospitaller-related work to discuss the destruction of the Templars, its critical treatment of France and the Church was a daring one, preceding that of Vertot by over six decades.[24] The inquisitorial censors, well aware of Vertot's scathing attacks on the medieval Church, were not ready to overlook yet another onslaught in a re-printed Hospitaller publication.

Escaño's discussion of the grand master's dignity and precedence in section 2 also contained objectionable assertions and indeed carried serious implications in the context of Pinto's vision of his political status. Escaño claimed that the grand master of the Hospitallers should enjoy precedence over cardinals, patriarchs and archbishops within the Catholic hierarchy. The author based this claim upon the authority of Bartolomeo Cassaneo's *Catalogus de Gloræ Mundi*, of 1612.[25]

Escaño's claims where the status of the Bishop of Malta was concerned were also objected to. The strongest statements were that the bishop was the subject of the grand master, both as a member of the Order, being decorated with the Order's Grand Cross, as well as an inhabitant within the grand master's secular jurisdiction. Moreover, the bishop's authority extended only to the inhabitants of the city and of the villages and not upon members of the Order, who fell under the jurisdiction of the grand prior and of the grand master accordingly.[26] The stark implications of such claims within the reality of rising absolutistic claims by the grand mastership in eighteenth-century Malta could hardly have been clearer.

An objectionable claim discussed throughout the different sections of the book was that the various Hospitaller offices and dignities as well as priorates, commanderies and bailiwicks were not to be considered as ecclesiastical benefices and hence were not exempt from the practice of simony.[27] Although initially referring to authors who argued that such offices were indeed ecclesiastical benefices, Escaño proceeds by referring to those having an opposite opinion. Escaño ends up by upholding the latter, concluding that, consequently, the acquisition of the Order's offices could be obtained as gifts, as rewards for services rendered or through payment. Following widespread simoniac practices within the Order, especially since the start of the eighteenth century, in 1718 Inquisitor Caracciolo

had informed Rome about the developing serious situation. This resulted in the publication of brief by Clement XI issued in the following year and which condemned the practice of simony within the Order. The inquisitorial censors pointed out that the 1719 brief had been duly accepted and registered in the Order's records.[28] Salviati emphasized with the Holy Office the ominous consequences of accepting this main assertion running throughout Escaño's work in the context of the mid-eighteenth-century Hospitaller reality, particularly under Pinto, where factions abounded and where even the election to the magistracy was open to highly dubious manoeuvres.[29]

Conclusion

The Order's attempt at re-printing Escaño's work just months following its successful acquisition of printing facilities in Malta, indicates an attempt at testing the waters where the alertness of the diocesan and in particular the inquisitorial censorship mechanism were concerned. Moreover, in the context of Pinto's secular claims to power, the re-issue of *Propugnaculum* would have constituted a not inconsiderable achievement in this regard. The work would indeed have abetted Pinto's position as both secular ruler and head of a religious order. Inquisitor Salviati, himself a staunch upholder of Rome and constantly resisting any real or perceived attempts at the expansion of power coming from the grand master and his Maltese ministers, was certainly not one to overlook such tactics. With the Congregation of the Holy Office's endorsement of Salviati's stand, the Order had little choice but to back down. In subsequent issues with Rome, however, this was not always to prove the case.

Notes

1 Although the title page bears the year 1663, the imprint statement on p. 417 reads: '*Hispali apud Ioannem Gomez a Blas, eiusdem civitates maiorem typographum. Ann. M.D.LX.IV.*'.

2 For early bio-bibliographies of Escaño see N. A. Hispalensi, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova sive Hispanorum Scriptorum qui ab anno MD. Ad anno MDCLXXXIV. Floruere*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1783 edition), p. 376; F. Arana de Varflora, *Hijos de Sevilla Illustres en Santidad, Letras, Armas, Artes, ò Dignidad*, vol. 2 (Seville, 1791), p. 17. The latter erroneously gives the year of publication as 1683.

3 Dedication on p. [iii] of *Propugnaculum*.

4 R. B. Mojares, *Escaño: A Family Portrait* (Cebu, 1989), p. 2.

5 *Juan de Valdés Delin*[eavit] and *Juan Franco Sculp*[sit] at bottom left and right corners respectively. For a study of iconographic representation on editions of the Order's statutes see F. Formiga, 'L'Illustrazione degli Statuti dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano di Malta: didascalia celebrazione, esornazione?', *Symposia Melitensia*, 6 (2010), 1–20. See also M. Debono, 'Allegorical Figures and Military Symbolism in Sculpture Commissioned by the Knights of the Order of St John (1600–1798)', Unpublished MA Thesis, History of Art Dept. (University of Malta, 2012). The printed copy of *Propugnaculum* examined is that in the National Library of Malta (location Bm-7–17bis). This copy contains an undecipherable *ex libris* on the centre-right side.

6 Each section or 'Discepatio' covers a particular subject and is further sub-divided into chapters.

7 NLM Libr. MSS 482, 483, *'Dell'Historia Sacro-Militare dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano* and 484, *Annali Istorici della Sacra Religione Gerosolimtana*, the latter consisting of a re-edition of Imbroll's work by his nephew, Carlo Michallef. On Imbroll and Michallef see I. S. Mifsud, *Biblioteca Maltese* (Malta, 1764), pp. 180–90 and 287–300 respectively.

8 ASV Segreteria di Stato, Malta 7, f. 133, Inquisitor Pignatelli–SS, dated 10/01/1647: '*Havend'egli [il Priore della Chiesa Imbroll] come Historiografo della Religione composto due tomi, dopo esser questi stati riveduti da Quattro commissari, e mediante la loro relatione, approvata dal Consiglio per mandarli alle stampe*'.

9 Ibid. '*Il Gran Maestro abbia procurato per mezzo del medesimo Consiglio non solo nuova deputazione de'commissari a lui sospetti alla revision di detta opera, ma' anche la revocatione della prima approvazione, senza poter egli ne meno esser inteso. Replica d'haver cooperate alla nuova deputazione de'commissari in riguardo de'pregiudizi considerabili che si coprivano in detti tomi contro li statuti, e buon usi della Religione si come li medesimi commissari, fatta relatione d'haver in effetto trovato di pregiudizio al Consiglio questo ricorrò poi alla prima approvazione di essi*'. The objectionable assertions are not specified in this document. In spite of subsequent efforts by Carlo Michallef to have Imbroll's and his own works published, this never materialized.

10 For a discussion of the Order's controls over such officially commissioned works see W. Zammit, 'The Order of St John and its Controls over Reading Matter, 1700–1798', in *Guardians of Memory: Essays in Remembrance of Hella Jean Bartolo Winston*, ed. C. J. Farrugia (Malta, 2008), pp. 207–16.

11 H. Pantaleon, *Militaris Ordinis Johannitorum, Rhodiorum aut Melitensium Equitum* (Basel, 1581); Knight de Moncal, *Abregé des memoires donnez au Roy, sur la reunion de l'ordre & grande maistrise de S. Jean de Jérusalem (maintenant de Malthe) à la couronne, sans porter prejudice à la noblesse de France, sans démembrer ledit ordre ny offencer le Sainct Siege-Apostolique* (s.l., 1627).

12 G. L. Hebeier, *Elettionario dell'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Gran Maestro Gierosolimitano* (Todi, 1634). On Hebeier's publication see Zammit, 'The Order of St John', pp. 208–9. See also V. Borg, *Fabio Chigi Apostolic Delegate in Malta (1634–1639): An Edition of his Official Correspondence* (Vatican City, 1967), pp. 139–40 and 394–5.

13 AOM 260, f. 174: '*Considerando l'Eminentissino e Reverendissimo Signor Gran Maestro, e Venerando Consiglio quanto sia alieno, e dischiedevole dall'obbidienza religiosa, e quanti pregiudizi et inconvenienti posso risultare dallo stampare qualisiasi persona dell'habito opera veruna concernente alli Statuti, Ordinationi, usi, privilegi, o'Historia della Religione senza espresso licenza di Sua Eminenza e Venerando Consiglio, determinarono, che nessun Priore, Baglio, Commendatore, o'Fratello di qualisivoglia grado, o'conditione sia, stampi, o'facci stampare directe vel indirecte sotto il proprio nome, ne'sotto finto, e sottposto d'altro, nessun libro, e scritto d'Historia, o'cosa [v] spettante alla nostra Religione, ne'concernente alli Statuti, Ordinationi, usi, e privilegi di essa tanto in Convento, quanto fuori, senza l'istessa approvazione, e licenza di Sua Eminenza sotto pena ipso facto incurrenda se sarà Baglio, Priore, o'Commendatore di tre annate de'frutti, o'proventi de'loro Priorati, Baliaggi, o'Commende respective, et altri beni, che goderanno della Religione a'favor del Tesoro; e se sarà fratello di tre annate delle pensioni, o'membri di tre anni di Castello. Dando facoltà, et ordinando oltre di ciò à Priori, Luogotenenti, o'Ricevitori che à nome della sudetta Eminenza e Consiglio citino qualsivoglia de'sopradetti, che simil cosa tentarà à comparire in Convento fra sei mesi da contarsi dal giorno, che saranno citati, sotto le pene contro l'inobbidienti stabilite. E perche posso similmente risultare pregiudizij dall'essere stampate le sudette opere da persone secolari meno intelligenti forse delle cose nostre, determinarono, che li Priori delle Provincie, loro Luogotenenti, Ricevitori o'altri Ministri principali della Religione procurino, che li Magistrati secolari, a'quali ciò spetta, non diano licenza d'imprimersi tale opera, se prima non saranno state viste, et approvate da Sua Eminenza e Venerando Consiglio*'.

14 W. Zammit, *Printing in Malta, 1642–1839: From Inception to the Granting of Freedom of the Press* (Malta, 2008), pp. 91–116.
15 Zammit, *Printing*, p. 105.
16 AOM 1676. The phrase '*Camera segreta*' is inscribed in ink in a contemporary hand on the top-right corner of the original cardboard cover of the manuscript.
17 ASV Fondo Salviati 13, Ignazio Teuma–Gregorio Salviati dated 25/11/1755; '*Mi è stata finalmente portata l'Istoria di Mons Imbroll, ma mancante della seconda parte . . . in Cancellaria vien custodita sotto chiavi, che nemen si confidano alli scrivani più fidati di essa*'. Teuma happened to be Imbroll's great-nephew.
18 Teuma served as advisor and, between 1756 and his death in 1776, as censor to the Inquisition in Malta.
19 For a detailed study of Gristi and his anti-Pinto stance see W. Zammit, *Il Naufragio di San Paolo in Malta osia la Conversione di San Publio e dell'Isola, Opera Morale 1748: A Maltese Eighteenth-Century Play by Vittorio Gristi* (Malta, 2004), pp. 17–81.
20 AIM Corrispondenza 96, f. 47v – 48r, Salviati–C[ongregation of the] H[oly] O[ffice], dated 08/12/1756.
21 ASV Fondo Salviati 27, batch 1, unfoliated. A second copy of the reports is to be found in Carte Salviati, 56.
22 Thus one report is entitled '*Difficoltà per ristampare Escaño. Mutazioni e cassazioni da farsi nel libro di Ferdinando Escanno [sic] intitolato* Propugnaculum Hyerosolimit. Seu Sacrae Religionis Militaris S. Joannis Hyerosolimitani Militiae Regulari Compendium, *etc. Avanti che il P. Teuma faccia la sua approvazione, e si da facoltà di stamparlo*'. The other report starts with the statement '*Nel rivedere d'ordine di V.S. Illma. E Rma. L'opera di Ferdinando Escanno [sic] intitolata* Propugnaculum Hierosolymitanum seu Sacrae Religionis Militaris S. Joannis Hierosolymitani Militiae regularis compendium *ho notate le infrascritte cose che meritano a mio giudizio d'esser considerate prima che ne sia permessa la nuova impressione*'.
23 Disceptazione I '*De Origine, Progressu, Regula & Instituto Religionis*', ch. 2: '*De progressu Sacræ Religionis in partibus Orientalibus & Occidentalibus, & varijs eventibus usa in tempus præsens*', p. 25, para. 57–63.
24 In 1643 Geronimo Marulli, a knight of the Order, published his *I Natali delle Religiose Militiae* in Malta in 1643. Vertot also treated the suppression of the Templars.
25 Disceptazione II '*De Divisione Fratrum & Linguarum; de authoritate Magni Magistri & Conventu Melitensi, de Baiulivi Conventualibus, et Dignitatibus, & Officijs, de Prioribus Nationum, de Baiulivis Capitularibus, de Priore Ecclesiæ, & Episcopo Melitensi*', ch. 2: '*De authoritate Magni Magistri, & Conventus Melitensis*'.
26 Disceptazione XIII '*De omnimoda exemptione Fratrum Hierosolymitanorum quo ad Iudices Sæculares, & Ecclesiasticos, & de Iurisdictione privative Ordinis*', ch. 11: '*An possit Episcopus tanquam Apostolicæ Sedis Delegatus punier Hierosolymitanos delinquens extra claustra, & an comprehendantur in Decreto Concilij Tridentini cap. 3 sess. 6. De reformat.*'. The specific phrase objected to by the inquisitorial censors was '*episcopus enim melitensi subditus etiam est Magni Magistri*', on p. 286.
27 Mainly in Disceptazione X '*De Commendis Hierosolymitanorum*', ch. 2: '*An Commendæ sint Beneficia Ecclesiastica ita ut eas vendere sit materia simoniæ*'.
28 A printed copy of the brief was attached to the two reports of the censors. The brief was registered in the *Liber Conciliorum Status* on 19 June 1719, ironically enough by Pinto himself as vice-chancellor.
29 AIM Corr. 96, f. 48, Salviati-CHO dated 08/12/1756, '*Ponendo avanti agli occhi dell'Eminenze Vostre la facilità, che pur troppo qui regna di procacciarsi per strade poco legittime, che si mascherano col nome di Briga, le dignità, e Uufizi della Religione, e in specie la massima del Magistero*'.

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Plate 1 (a) *Anastasis*, central apse, crusader Church of the Resurrection at Abu-Ghosh (Emmaus).
Photograph © Gil Fishhof

Plate 1 (b) *The three Patriarchs with souls*, southern apse, crusader Church of the Resurrection at Abu-Ghosh (Emmaus).
Photograph © Gil Fishhof

Plate 2 (a) *Koimesis*, northern wall, 2nd bay from the east, crusader Church of Our Lord's Resurrection at Abu-Ghosh (Emmaus).

Photograph © Gil Fishhof

Plate 2 (b) *Koimesis* (detail – upper register of wall), *Journey of the Apostles*, northern wall, 2nd bay from the east, crusader Church of Our Lord's Resurrection at Abu-Ghosh (Emmaus).

Photograph © Gil Fishhof

Plate 3 (a) Greece, Rhodes, Phileremos, Hagios Georgios Chostos, eastern part of the south wall, members of the Nantouillet family.

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Plate 3 (b) Greece, Rhodes, Phileremos, Hagios Georgios Chostos, eastern part of the south wall, detail of the fourth member of the Nantouillet family.

Photograph © Anna Takoumi

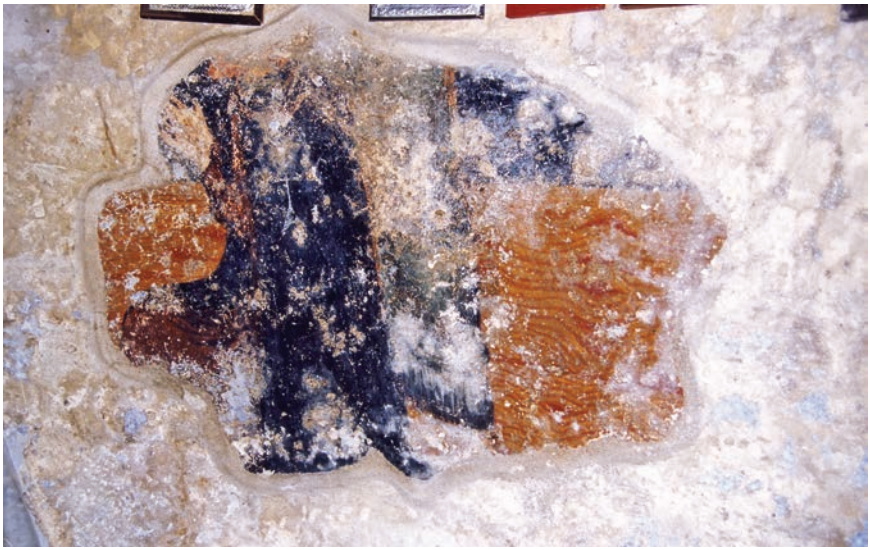

Plate 4 (a) Greece, Rhodes, Paradeissi, Prophetes Avakoum, apse, Deesis, member of Hospitallers at the feet of St John the Baptist.

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Plate 4 (b) Italy, Brindisi, Santa Maria del Casale, nave, western part of the south wall, Virgin Mary with Child and knights.

Photograph © Professor Gaetano Curzi

Plate 5 '*LIBERARE CAPTIVOS*', early 18th century, oil on canvas, The Palace, Valletta.
Photograph © Theresa Vella

Plate 6 (a) Coffered ceiling, late sixteenth century, The Palace, Valletta.
Photograph © Theresa Vella

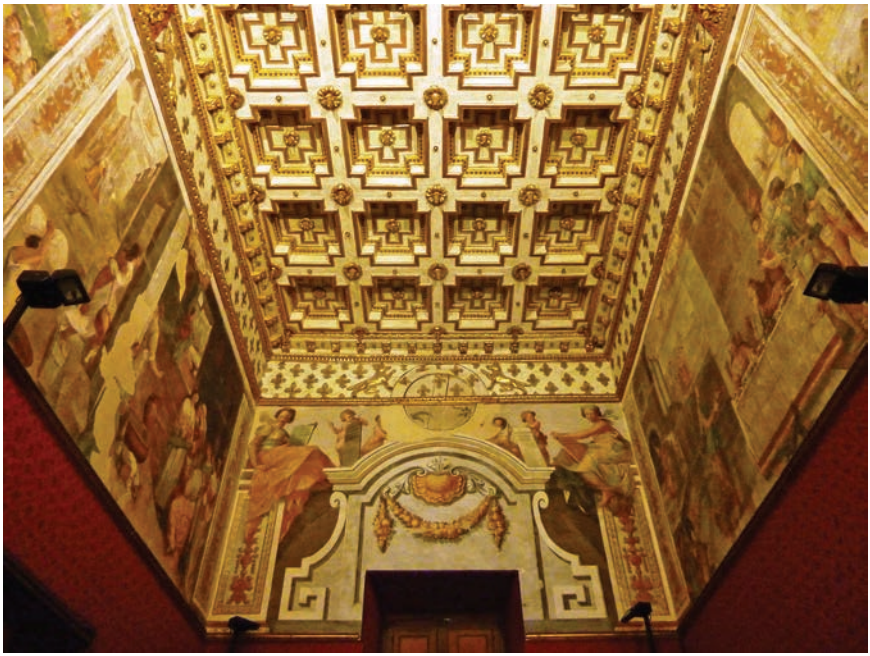

Plate 6 (b) The summer chapel, The Palace, Valletta.
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Plate 7 Sixteenth-century triptych from the magistral chapel.

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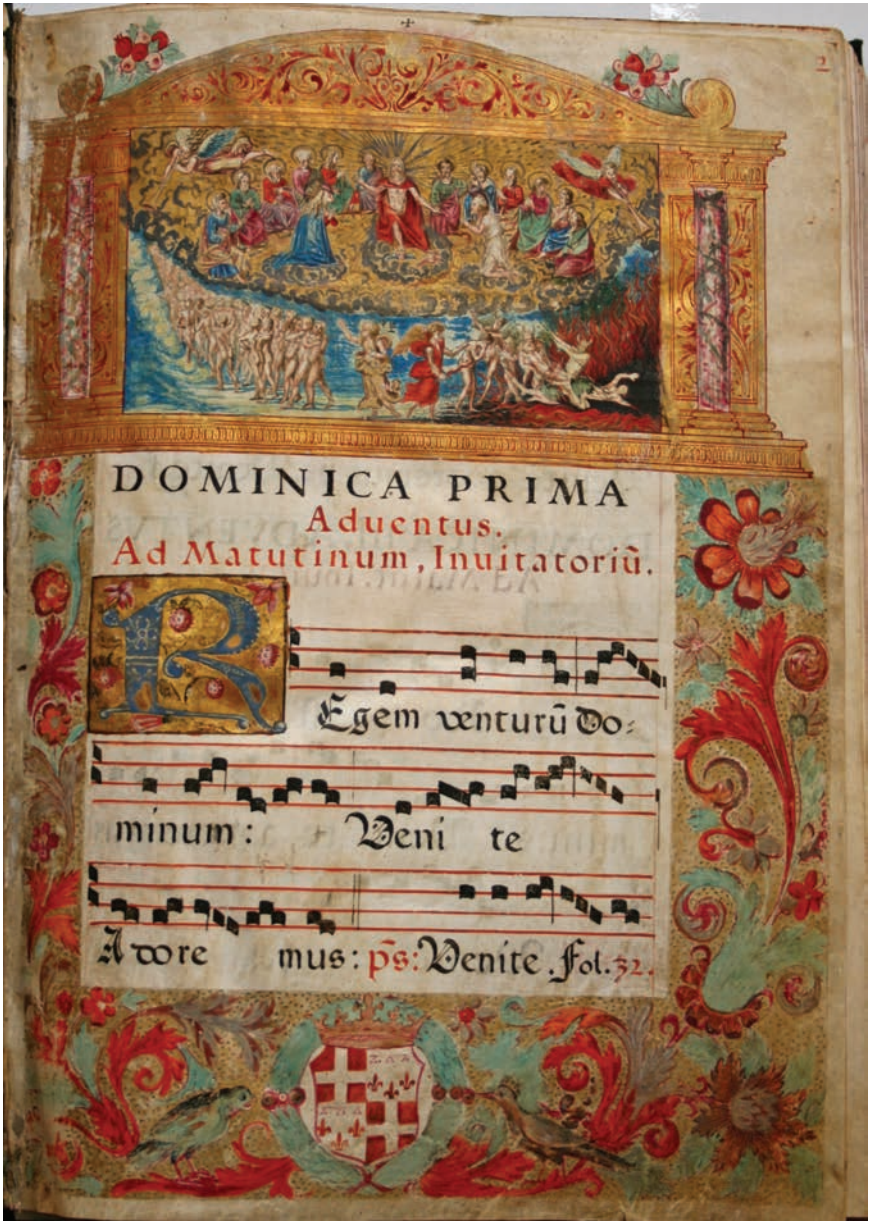

Plate 8 'Wignacourt' choral book, Libr. Ms 512.
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